THE ART AND MATERIAL-CULTURE AS REPRESENTED IN THE PAINTINGS OF AKBAR'S COURT

[A Study based on six selected manuscripts: Akbarnama; Anwar-i-Suhaili; Tuzuk-i-Baburi; Diwan-i-Hafiz; Razmnama and Tarikh-i-Khandan-i-Timuria]

THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF
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By

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In the absence of textual evidences nothing can be of greater value than contemporary paintings for the purpose. More than any amount of words the visual experience acquired through this medium provides us in illustrated form the knowledge of a variety of those things that a chronicler would never even think of as worthy of report. Fortunately, the Mughal emperors maintained a whole establishment of painters and it was under Akbar that special attention was paid. Akbar had an idependent views and indeed he considered painting as one of the means to recognise God. From the very beginning the consideration of Mughal painters to the Persian Qalam evidents on the pages of Dastan-i-Amir-Hamjah. The fusion of the Persian and Indian styles may also the seen in the illustrations of the MS. Tutinama, newly discovered by Dr. Sherman Lee. An early dated MS. Diwan of Anwari (A.D. 1588) also combinds the styles of Persian and Western Indian-Art.

Under the present study a few selected MSS. - Anwar-i-Suhaili; Akbarnama; Diwan-i-Hafiz; Razmnama, Tarikh-i-Khandian-i-Timuriya and Tuzuk-i-Baburi have been taken. Several illuminated copies of these MSS. have survived to this day. The study aims at a more extensive study of the art produced under Akbar. A good deal of work has been done towards the appreciation of the Mughal art recently. Nevertheless the appreciation so far done has been from the artistic point of view. The wealth of the historical and technical data which these miniatures have to offer remains still unexplored. Turning over them one is struck with the persistent uniformity of

of forms and shapes of the articles of use, arms, armours, cultural interest and institutions which analysed and put together enable us to know of the medieval-life more intimately. The illustrations are not wanting in the direct representation of the lives of the common-people. The author has given graphic descriptions of the customs and lives of the people as he happened to observe. The paintings help us to know of the utensils, musical-instruments, technological-gadgets, costumes, arms, armours and ensigns etc. used in those time. These are records which the historian of medieval-society can ill afford to by pass. The present work is an humble step towards this object. The author is aware of its unsatisfactory nature. The limitations are too many and besides he wished to have been able to find excess to more collections.

The work is broadly divided into two parts dealing with the art and technique on the one hand and the historical aspect on the other. The first part concerns much less the aesthetic point of view. As enough has been done in this direction, though appriciation of art is a matter of personal taste and discriminative ability. Attention is therefore paid to the techniques involving in the art of drawing, expension of the Mughal Qalam and its contribution to the Indian art, traces of the synthesis of the Persian, Indian, European and Chinese traditions, perspective, colouring light and shade etc. A separate chapter is devoted to the treatment of themes. The decorative patterns and designing form the subject of an distinct section. The second part is more analytical in character. The different

cloths, garments and other wearables; armours of soldiers and animals; arms; ensigns; musical-instruments; various articles of use viz. different types of drinking glasses, bottles, wine-containers, trays, broths and the kitchen utensils; the implements of gardening and agriculture; tools of a mason and carpenter; means of irrigation; water-transport; road-journey and a few other technological-gadgets etc. have been separately treated and illustrated through sketches.

Form the point of view of art the Akbari illustrations are synthesised primarily with the traditions of the Persian and the pre-Mughal Indian arts. The former reveals itself in bright colour-schemes dominated by the Persian blue, crimson, orange, yellow and gold pigments; the superimposition of calligraphed blurbs; in the three-quarter-representation of human faces; in the modulated contours of hills depicted with springing trees, streams and animals shown perched on them; in the drawing of the objects from the bird-eye-view, disposal of a group of human figures on a very horizon line; in the profusely decorated patterns on floor, _Shamiyianas_, costumes and carpets comprising interlacing work; in the always changing focal point of an artist, figures imposed on one another, trees laden with flowers and in the flat treatment of colours. The latter finds expression in the dynamism and rhythm and crowded animation in the representation of human figures; in the elongated eyes, casually the second eye projecting beyond the

face line; in the straight, long tree-trunk with dense foliage; in the stylised form of leaves; elephant figures and in the wavery-lines of water often shown with fish and lotus flower. Side by side with this, perceptible traces of the naturalism characteristic of the later Mughal art, begin to show up in the depiction of realistic treatment of tree-trunks and animals.

However the technique depends a great deal on standardiesed forms and stylised features. The predominent character of these paintings draws on the accuracy of lines, the neatness of colouring and standard proportions. The representation of the female figures is everywhere standardised. A certain degree of uniformity persists in the technique, media and conception through out its development. The principle of maximum visibility is faithfully followed as the prime condition of perfect representation. Composition is done in the vertical plane. Distance is depicted either by breaking the part of a theme or by giving them in vertical, ascending order. Casually the distant landscapes and objects in the background are depicted to enhance the effect of depth in the illustration. There is no single direction of light, hence no shadows. The principle of forshortening is not fully understood. Action is symbolised by gestures of the hands or the head. Emphasis is laid on the brilliancy of colours and the gold dust is lavishly used. The hashyias are generally left plain.

By the Akbar's time the Mughal art had started showing the influence of the European art, the most significant of which was the intro-

duction of European-perspective. But the traces of these remain few and far in between. The features of Chinese art are also not wanting in the Akbari-illustrations.

From the point of view of material - culture the miniatures make a fine source of information. The sartorial habits of the gentry manifest good taste, discreteness and variety. The trend was in favour of covering the maximum part of body. They wore jamas, trousers, turbans or caps and patka etc. Clothes worn in winter-farji, qaba and gadar etc. have differed in material. As a matter of fact there is observed a great uniformity in the fashions of all classes of people from the aristrocacy to the peasant. Royal-attendants had special uniforms. The ladies wore long flowing dresses. Native women however dressed in a long plaited petticoat, a choli or a blouse and a head sheet. The peshwaz was the common wear of the ladies of court. They sported generally oblong caps. It is noteable that their costumes are invariably plain. Ornaments were in vogue and worn in profusion.

The soldiers were generally provided with armours which included the maximum number of pieces that could be put on without incurring obstruction in the movements. There were the helmets, zirih, bagtar, chest and back-plates, arm-guards, knee-guards, leg-guards and foot-wears. The helmets could be made with or without hanging mails. Casually, a forehead plate and a visor could also be attached with it. Leg-guards are made in a variety of length. The zirih, bagtar,

dastanwa and leg-guards are common armours of a Mughal-soldier. The animals too were fully equipped with armours. A horse-armour consisted of the qashqah, gardani, chest-guard and urtuk. The pakhar appear the main armour of an elephant.

The sword, bow and arrow, lance and mace are the conventional arms wielded by Mughals. The chief weapon was the shamsheer or a dhup but a soldier was almost invariably equipped with bow and arrows. The takash-kaman was greatly favoured. The soldiers had quivers and bow-cases to hold the arrows and bows respectively. Thirdly comes the spear. The mace was casually wielded. Apart from the conventional arms the artillery used by the Mughals included both cannons and handguns. The latter was still in its primitive stage. It was long, difficult to wield and time consuming and had no folding device in the middle. A few were provided with priming-pan, ramrod and pargaz. Cannons generally rested on two or four wheels. Lastly, the jazail rested on a tripod.

The rubab and chang are the main musical-instruments played for entertainment. Female dancers invariably wielded castanets. The musical-instruments of the native land viz. the veena, tambura and kamancha were also introduced in the Mughal court. The former could become much popular. A whole establishment of musicians was attached to the court in which the naqqarkhana occupied a prominent place. It was accomplished with kettle-drums, pipes and cymbals etc. and

was considered as an ensign of royality.

The other insiguias included mainly the awrang, sayaban, chhatra, kawkaba and the alms- displaying innumerable types of heads including the forms of utensil, lizard, dragon, elephant head and human face etc. The heads of wild goat, stag, tiger, horse, sheep and a dragon employed in the ornamentation have an emblematic significance. The shades viz. scarlet, orange, green and crimson used in the cloth of standards and flags too, are of emblemtic significance.

For one thing some of the essential gadgets are very clearly depicted. The crude form of the Persian-wheel with its crown and drum elements is represented rather faithfully. An improvement in the water-work is inferred from the frequent use of large fountains in the gardens and palaces. The stirrup appears to have become common; so does the horse-shoe. An efficient system of water transport is also apparent from the miniatures. There are several types of boats including double-deckers. Some of them are shown with masts and sails. Boats employed for varying purposes - journey or naval engagements etc. are differently shaped. For ladies boats were made with close compartments. Boats were also employed for building a bridge on a river. These were specially made and resembled in shape with the punt of today.

For the road-journey peoples travelled in litters carried by two

or four men. Royal ladies generally travelled in the imaris or in the mihaffa. Traders had camels and oxen to transport the goods. The former was greatly favoured and was also employed by the insignia holders and the musicians of the naqqarkhana in the battlefield. The elephant was rarely employed.

Various utensils used in the kitchen for cooking and serving the preparations and for feast etc. included the degchi, qab, large platters, payalas and a rich variety of bottles viz. surahis and minas and other wine-containers. The utensils used for decoration were the flower-pots, candle-sticks and stands for perfume-pots etc. Grace, decorativeness and symmetry are the chief characteristics of them.

There are many more items which can be studied in greater detail with the help of written sources as it is the miniatures of the illuminated manuscripts along with other collections provide us with a valuable source for the study of Mughal-Culture. In the absence of directly relevant sources the historian can however rely on the pictorial representations of the numerous themes chosen privately or by the order of patrons by artists from time to time. Such a mass of material will include albums prepared in the court, portraitures, independent paintings and, no less important, the illustrations of fictional texts - a task that is very difficult indeed, none the less necessary.

(S. P. Verma)

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This is to certify that the Ph.D. thesis entitled "The Art and Material Culture as represented in the Paintings of Akbar's Court" submitted by Mr. Som Prakash Verma is an original research work of the scholar and is suitable for submission to the examiners for the award of the degree.

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ABBREVIATIONS

1.	<u>Ain</u>	:	<u>Ain-i-Akbari</u> by Abul Fazl, tr. by Blochmann (Vol. I) and Jarrett (Vol. II & III).
2.	<u>Akb</u>	:	<u>Akbarnama</u> by Abul Fazl, tr. by H. Beveridge.
3.	A History of	:	<u>A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon</u> by V.A. Smith.
4.	<u>Akb</u>. (C.B.)	:	<u>Akbarnama</u> (Chester Beatty Collection).
5.	<u>Akb</u>. (V.A.)	:	<u>Akbarnama</u> (Victoria and Albert Museum, London).
6.	<u>Anwar</u> (Varanasi)	:	<u>Anwar-i-Suhaili</u> (Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi).
7.	<u>Bab</u>.	:	<u>Baburnama</u> by Mrs. Beveridge.
8.	Badaoni	:	<u>Muntakhabut- Tawarikh</u> by Badaoni, tr. by G.S.A. Ranking (Vol. I); W.H. Lowe (Vol. II) and T.W. Haig (Vol. III).
9.	<u>Diwan</u> (C.B.)	:	<u>Diwan-i-Hafiz</u> (Chester Beatty Collection).
10.	<u>Diwan</u>(Rampur)	:	<u>Diwan-i- Hafiz</u> (State Library, Rampur).
11.	<u>Indian Painting</u>	:	<u>Indian Paintings Under the Mughals</u> by P. Brown.
12.	<u>Indian Miniatures</u>	:	<u>Indian Miniatures of the Moghul School</u> by L. Hazek.

13. Martin : Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey by F.R.Martin.

14. Razm.(Jaipore) : Razmnama (City Palace Museum, Jaipore).

15. Razm (Baroda) : Razmnama (Baroda State Museum).

16. Tarikh (Patna) : Tarikh-i-Khandan-i-Timuria (Khuda Baksh Oriental Public Library, Patna).

17. The Technique : The Technique of Mughal Painting by Motichandra.

18. The Army : The Army of Indian Mughals by William Irvine.

19. The Costumes : The Costumes and Textiles of India by Jamila Brij Bhushan.

20. Tuzuk (B.M.) : Tuzuk-i-Baburi (British Museum).

21. Tuzuk (Delhi) : Tuzuk-i-Baburi (National Museum, Delhi).

22. Tuzuk (Moscow) : Tuzuk-i-Baburi (State Museum of Oriental Cultures, Moscow).

23. Tuzuk (V.A.) : Tuzuk-i-Baburi (Victoria and Albert Museum, London).

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(B) A man encounters four girls in a jungle, folio 100, 4 by 4 1/8 inches (circa 1565-70).

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(C) Geometrical patterns - specially employed in the decoration of a floor, a pillar or wall and the shamyiana borders.

(D) Decorative motifs of trees, plants and animals.

LXXII : A miniature from the Diwan-i-Hafiz (Rampur); folio 211. 18 cm. x 10.8 cm.

LXXIII : A miniature from the Diwan-i-Hafiz (Rampur); folio 314. Attributed to Narsing (?).

LXXIV : Fig. 1 - Jama with long length

" 2 - Jama with four triangular ends

" 3 - Variations of skirts

" 4 - Jama with short length (full-sleeves)

" 5 - " " " " (half-sleeves)

LXXV : Figs. 1, 2 - Farji

Fig. 3 - Peshwaz

Fig. 4 - Neemtana

LXXVI : Fig. 1 - Gadar

" 2 - Qaba

" 3 - Tail Coat

LXXVII : Figs. 1, 32 - Turbans

" 33-36 - Caps

LXXVIII : Carpet, The Textile Museum Washington, D.C., about 4 by 3½ feet.

LXXIX : Carpet, Museum of Fine Arts Boston; 7 feet 11 inches by 5 feet 1 inch.

LXXX : Figs. 1-17 - shoes
" 18-29 - slippers

LXXXI : Fig. 1 - Quillon-dagger
" 2 - <u>Jamdhar</u>
" 3 - <u>Khanjar</u>
" 4 - <u>Kard</u>
" 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 - <u>Shamsheer</u> and its variations; No. 8 - Scimitar; No. 9 - Flachion.
" 10 - <u>Dhup</u>
" 11, 12 - <u>Patta</u>
" 13, 14, 15 - <u>Khanda</u>
" 16 - a variation of scimitar
" 17, 18, 19 - Hilts with Kunckle bow
" 20 - <u>Sipar</u>
" 21 - <u>Pahri</u>
" 22 - Hide shield
" 23 - An iron shield decorated with yak-tails.
" 24 - An iron shield of Akbar; <u>Encyclopedia of World Art</u>; Vol. I, pl. 454.

LXXXII : Fig. 1 - _Pahri_ (side view)

" 2 - _Sipar_ (" ")

" 3 - Rectangular shield

" 4 - Round shield with yak-tails

" 5 - _Sipar_ studded with nails

" 6, 7, 8, 9 - Variation of loops provided inside the shield for grip.

" 10, 11 - _Takash Kaman_

" 12 - _Kaman_

" 13, 14 - _Kamtha_

" 15, 16, 17 - Bow case.

" 18 - 27 - Arrows: Spear head, leaf shaped blade, Triangular blade, crescent shaped blade.

" 28, 29 - quivers used by tribals in India.

" 30, 31 - Mughal quivers or _qirbans_

LXXXIII Fig. 1 - Cavalary lance

" 2, 3 - " " , (no. 2-combination of _Nezah_ and _Sak_)

" 4 - " " (combination of _Nezah_ and _Selara_)

" 5, 6 - _Nezah_ (Cavalary lance)

" 7 - _Selara_

" 8 - A Variation of _Sak_

" 9 - A Variation of _Selara_

Fig. 10 - A Variation of Sak

" 11, 12, 13 - Infantry lance (Ballam)

" 14 - trident (Tirshul)

" 15 - trident with a spear head (Nezah) at the lower end.

" 16, 17, 19, 20, 26 - Tabar

" 18 - Tarangla

" 21-23 - Tabar with double Sockets

" 24, 25 - Tabar with three Sockets

" 27, 30 - Tabar with the blade elongated on one side.

" 28 - Tabar

" 29, 31-36 - Tabar with the blade graduated in the middle.

" 37 - Tabar - jaghnol

" 38 - Basola

" 39 - Holy men-axe.

LXXXIV : Fig. 1 - Shashpar

" 2 - A mace with foliated blades

" 3 - Piyaji

" 4 - A mace with foliated blades (cusp-shaped)

" 5 - Shashpar

" 6 - A mace with trifoliated bladed heads

" 7-11 - Kistin

" 12, 13 - Piyazi

	Fig.	14 -	Gurj having double head, one above the other
	"	15 -	A mace
	"	16 - 18 -	Maces with foliated blades (cusp-shaded)
	"	19 -	Dhara
	"	20 -	A mace with five bladed heads
	"	21 -	A rugged mace
	"	22 -	Mace with four sided blades
	"	23 -	Mace with six sided blades
	"	24 -	An ordinary mace
	"	25 -	Khar-i-mahi
	"	26 -	Chakra
LXXXV :	Fig.	1-3 -	Narnals
	"	4 -	Cannon
	"	5 -	Carriage to accommodate a cannon
	"	6 -	Gajnal
	"	7, 8 -	Small cannons raised to an angle supported on a wooden stand
	"	9, 10 -	jazail
	"	11 -	Cannon supported on two wheels
	"	12 -	Cannon supported on four wheels
LXXXVI :	Fig.	1 -	Dubalghah
	"	2-6 -	Zirih Kulah (with ear plates)
	"	9-11 -	Variations of zirih kulah

Fig. 12 - <u>Dubalghah</u> with a vizor or nose-guard

" 13 - <u>Zirih</u> <u>Kulah</u> with a vizor and ear plates

" 14 - <u>Zirih</u> <u>Kulah</u> with hanging mail only

" 15 - <u>Zirih</u> <u>Kulah</u> (front view)

" 16 - " " (back view)

" 17 - " " (hanging mail made of small metallic plates like a fish scale armour)

" 18 - <u>Dubalghah</u> with a vizor

" 19 - A helmet with a forehead plate, vizor and ear plates

" 20 - Helmet moulded in one piece

" 21 - <u>Zirih</u> (front view)

" 22 - " (back view)

LXXXVII : Fig. 1 - <u>Sadiqi</u>

" 2,3 - <u>Dastanwa</u>

" 4 - Arm plate and <u>dastanwa</u>

" 5 - <u>Mujah-i-shani</u>

" 6 - Iron-Socks

" 7-12 - Leg-guards

" 13-18 - <u>Joshan</u>

" 21,22 - <u>Sabat</u>

" 19,20 - Belts

LXXXVIII : Figs. 1, 2 - <u>Qashqah</u>

Figs. 3, 4 - Neck armour

" 5 - Chest guard

" 6,7,8 - Variations of Urtuk

" 9,10,11,12,13 - Variations of pakhar

" 14, 15 - Armour of the body

LXXXIX : Fig. 1 - Takht

" 3, 4, 5 - Royal Chairs without arms (camp thrones)

" 6 - Throne with side railings

" 7 - A throne without legs

" 8, 9 - A variation of throne

" 10,11,12,13 - Variations of back

" 14 - A throne supported on high legs and embellished with a chhatra.

" 15 - A variation of throne provided with stairs to step in.

" 16-24 - Variations of legs designed with animal motifs.

" 25 - Flag.

" 26 - Flag foliated in the middle

" 27 - Trifoliated flag

" 28 - Flag with an emblem of a sun

" 29 - Chanwar

XCI : Fig. 1-9 - Variations of chattra

" 10-15- Various forms of sayaban

Fig. 16 - *Kawkaba* (a solid ball with an inner core)

" 17 - *Kawkaba* (a solid ball with distinct marking of the plates)

" 18 - *Kawkaba* (a solid ball like a globe)

" 19, 20 - Forms of *Kawkaba's* handle

XCII : Variations of *Alam's* head.

XCIII : Fig. 1 - *Sanj*

" 2,3 - *Manjeera* or *tala*

" 4 - *Ghoongroo*

" 5 - Bell

" 6 - *Ghoongroos* fastented in a small belt

" 7 - Gong

" 8 - Castanets

" 9 - *Shankh*

XCIV : Fig. 10 - *Bansuri*

" 11 - *Alghoza*

" 12 - *Nafir*

" 13 - *Surna*

" 14-21 - Varying forms of *Qarna*: Straight or curved like one third of a large circle.

XCV : Fig. 1-6 - *Qarna* (doubly curved like an S with elongated arms)

" 7-9 - *Seeng*

		Fig. 10 - Portotype of Seeng
XCVI	:	Fig. 11, 12, 14 - Varying forms of Naqqara
		" 13 - Damama
		" 15 - Daf
		" 16 - Chang
XCVII	:	Fig. 1,4 - Mirdanga
		" 2 - Dhol
		" 3 - Dundubhi
		" 5 - Duhul
		" 6 - Damru
XCVIII	:	Fig. 1,2,3 - Rubab
		" 4 - A composite instrument of rubab and qubuz
		" 5,6 - Veena
		" 7 - Kamancha (side view)
		" 8 - " " (back view)
		" 9 - Tambura
XCIX	:	Fig. 1, 2, 3 - Degchi
		" 4 - Gharya
		" 5-12 - Varying forms of pitchers (metallic)
C	:	Fig. 1, 2, 3 - Earthern pitchers
		" 4, 5, 6 - Lota

	Fig. 7 -	Badhna (a variation of lota)
	" 8,9,10,11 -	Various forms of Kamandal
	" 12 -	A surahi made of leather
CI :	Fig. 1 -	Qab
	" 2 -	Lid
	" 3,4,5,6 -	Different forms of Qabs with lids
	" 7 -	A small box with a lid
	" 8, 9 -	Deep qabs
	" 10, 11 -	Large platters
CII :	Fig. 1-10 -	Varying forms of payala
CIII (A & B):	Fig. 1-20 -	Various forms of surahi - designed with oval shaped, flat or graduated bottom, high or low base, long and narrow or serpentine necks etc. etc.
CIV & CV :	Fig. 1-15 -	Various forms of Meena - designed with or without handles and spouts, handles on either sides, with low or high base etc. etc.
CVI :	Fig. 11-25 -	Various forms of containers (jars)
CVII(a) :	Fig. 26,27,28 -	Surahi
	" 29 -	A deep dish (employed as a wash basin)

Fig. 30 - A variation of <u>Surahi</u> - container

" 31 - Spoons

CVII(b) : Gold spoon set with jewels, 7½ inches long; Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

CVIII : Fig. 1-11 - Fruit dishes

" 12-15 - Flower pots

CVIX : Fig. 1, 2 - <u>Itradan</u>

" 3, 4 - Candle-stick

" 5 - Glass shade

" 6 - hanging lamp

" 7 - A <u>Surahi</u> covered with leather

" 8, 9, 10 - Stands for water containers - pitchers or <u>Surahis</u> etc.

CX : Fig. 1, 2, 3 - <u>Kudal</u>

" 4 - Plough employed as a weapon

" 5 - Spade

" 6 - Shovel

" 7 - Trovel

" 8 - Hammer

" 9 - Saw

" 10 - Plough

" 11 - A <u>pacca</u> - tank

" 12 - <u>Dhekli</u>

Fig. 13 - Well with a pully

" 14 - Persian-wheel

" 15,16,17 - Varying forms of fountain

CXI : Fig. 18 - A litter (for ladies)

" 19 - Dome of a litter

" 20 - A litter (for gents)

" 21 - Crutch

" 22 - A small litter

" 23 - Howdah

" 24, 25 - Imari

" 26 - Imaris for ladies

" 27 - A seat with high sides employed to descend the soldiers from hieght.

" 28 - A machine employed to throw heavy stones (Manjanic)

" 29 - A raft

CXII : Fig. 1, 2, 9 - Paddle

" 3 - Boat (common form)

" 4 - Boat employed in bridge building

" 5 - Boat engaged in battle

" 6 - Journey boat (double-decker)

" 7 - Journey boat for ladies

" 8 - Boat for an assembly

Fig. 10, 11, 12 - Ornamental ends of boat - with animal motifs or a dragon head.

CXII : Babur on a raft, F. 333(B.M.); Artist - Payag.

CXIII : A miniature from the Anwar-i-Suhaili (Varanasi). Folio 190. Amal Miskin. An accident in a ship. (coloured)

CXIV : (A) - Bird-trapper; Cook; boatmen.

(B) - Stable-servant; Water-carrier and Palqi-bearer.

(C)- Male-dancer; Female-dancer and Male-musician.

(D) - Village-girl (Hindu) and attending maids.

(E) - Royal - attendants and Emperor's guard.

CXV : A miniature from the Anwar-i-Suhaili (Varanasi). Folio 61. Amal (Jagannath. Fisherman (14 by 25½ cm), coloured.

CXVI : A miniature from the Tuzuk-i-Baburi (B.M.).

(A) Folio 180. Amal Mahesh. Khodja Seyaran spring in the vicinity of Kabul.

(B) Folio 181; ibid.

CXVII : Miniatures from the Akbarnama (V.A.).

(A) Building of fort of Agra (Double-page-

illustration); (i) Plate 45, Tarah Miskin; Amal Sarwan. 33.5 cm x 20.5 cm. (ii) Plate 46.

(B) Building of Fatehpur Sikri buildings. Plate 86 - Tarah Tulsi; Amal Bhavani.

CXVIII : Miniatures from the Tuzuk-i-Baburi (B.M.)

(A) Babur visits the masoleum in the vicinity of Delhi; folio 370b. Amal Kesu Khurd.

(B) The "Baghi-vafa" garden layed by Babur in Adinapur; folio 173b. Amal Dhanno.

CXIX : A miniature from the Tuzuk-i-Baburi (B.M.); folio 6b. Traders in Kandbadam Collecting almonds. Amal Bhura.

CXX : A miniature from the Anwar-i-Suhaili (Varanasi); folio 160. Amal Lachhman, (13.4 by 29½ cm); (coloured).

CXXI : First folio of the Akbarnama (V.A.).

CXXII : First folio of the Anwar-i-Suhaili (Varanasi).

CXXIII : First folio of the Diwan-i-Hafiz (Rampur).

CXXIV : First folio of the Razmnama (Baroda).

CXXV : First folio of the Tuzuk-i-Baburi (B.M.).

(With 7 coloured - plates, 56 line -drawings and 91 half - tone illustrations)

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Of late Mughal paintings has elicited considerable interest from connoisseurs of art all over the world. Marked for the splash of abundant colours, accuracy in line drawing, depiction of maximum details, realism in representation, decore and fine labourious work, great variety of themes etc; Mughal paintings make a class by themselves, distinct from all other styles and techniques of the pre-Mughal or contemporary Indian art. Akbar was the first Mughal monarch who paid special attention to the promotion of the art of painting and commissioned the work of illustrating numerous manuscripts following Mongol and Timurid examples. Akbar had an opportunity of studying the linear grace of the Persian art while he was at Kabul with his father Humayun - accompanied by the Persian painters: Khawaja Abdus Samad and Mir Sayyid Ali. But it was not the final phase of art to which India experienced under Akbar. He had independent views and indeed, he considered painting as one of the means to recognise God.[1] Similarly the lines written about the perfection of Abdus Samad's skill in the Ain-i-Akbari[2] - " mainly due to the wonderful effect of a look of His Majesty, which caused him to turn from that which is form to that which is spirit"; reflect Akbar's views on

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1. Ain-i-Akbari, translation by Blochmann, Vol. I; p. 115.

2. Ibid ; p.114.

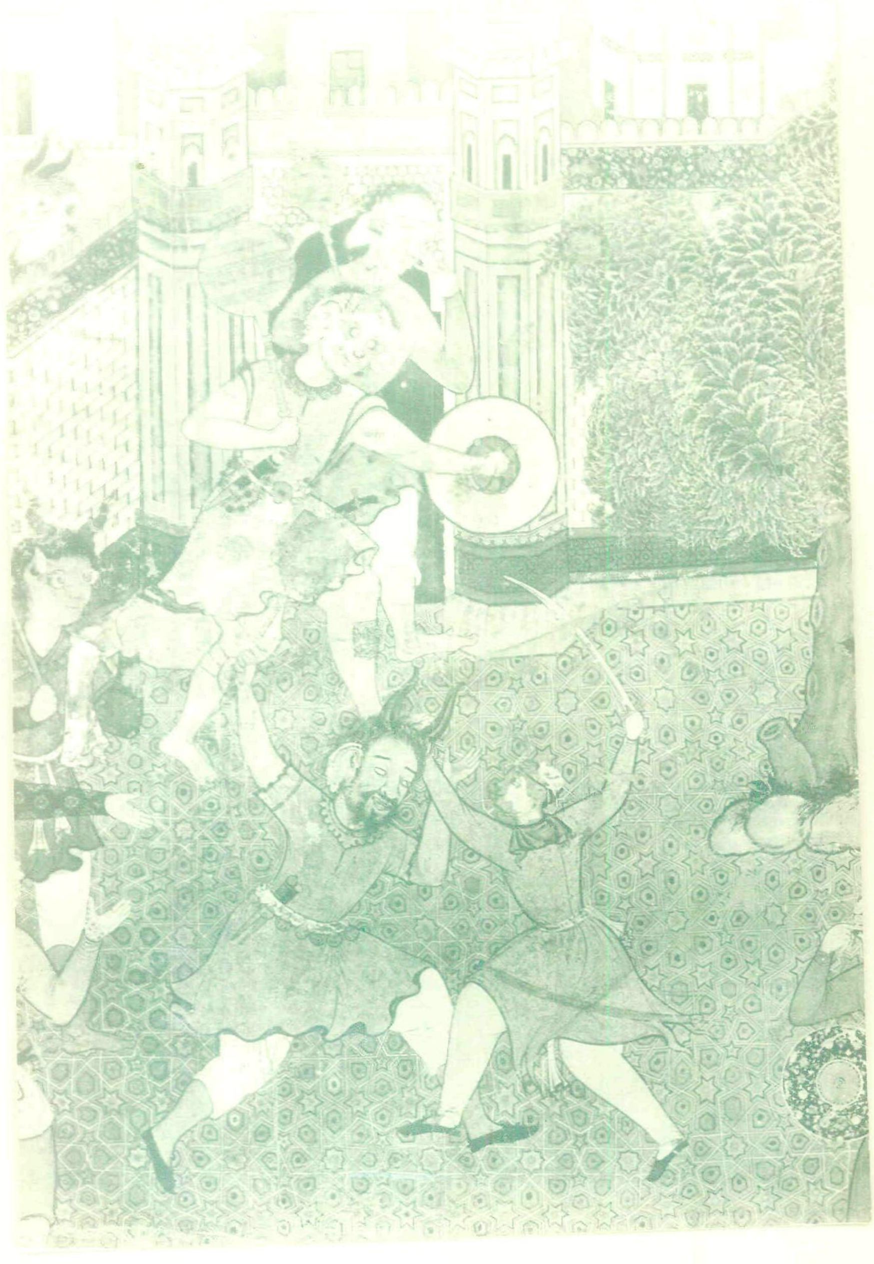


PLATE 1 (A)



PLATE I (B)

art in general. Broadly speaking, Akbar did not prefer the formal decorative style of Persia. Akbar seems to create a new synthesis of art out of all the heterogeneous elements of arts viz. Persian, Central Asian and Indian - gathered in his court. From the very beginning the consideration of Mughal painters to the Persian Qalam evidents on the pages of the Dastan-i-Amir Hamjah.[3] These illuminated pages are the first example of Akbari art and form the ground of training of the Mughal painters.

The present work was mainly done by the two artists Mir Sayyid Ali and Khawaja Abdus Samad assisted by side artists. It seems that a few creations also belonged to Basawan.[4] These illustrations are distinguished from the Persian Qalam for the representation of turbulent action, broad canvas, foliage of trees and massive colours (plate I). One finds distinct dissimilarities in the examples of Persian miniatures given in the name of Mir Sayyid Ali and the Hamzahnama. The fusion of the Persian and Indian styles may also be seen in the illustrations of the manuscript Tutinama, newly discovered by Dr. Sherman Lee. Though it is a undated manuscript but can be safely presumed not to be later than 1560 A.D.[5] In the

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3. Ibid; p. 115. (This manuscript is most extraordinary of Mughal manuscripts, from which less than 200 pages are known at present preserved in the various collections i.e. Brooklyn Museum; Victoria and Albert Museum, London; Industrial Museum Viena; Chester Beatty Collection, Dublin; Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi etc. etc.

4. Encyclopedia of World Art by Mcgraw Hill; p. 385, 387.

5. The Art of Mughal India, by S.C. Welch; p. 25.



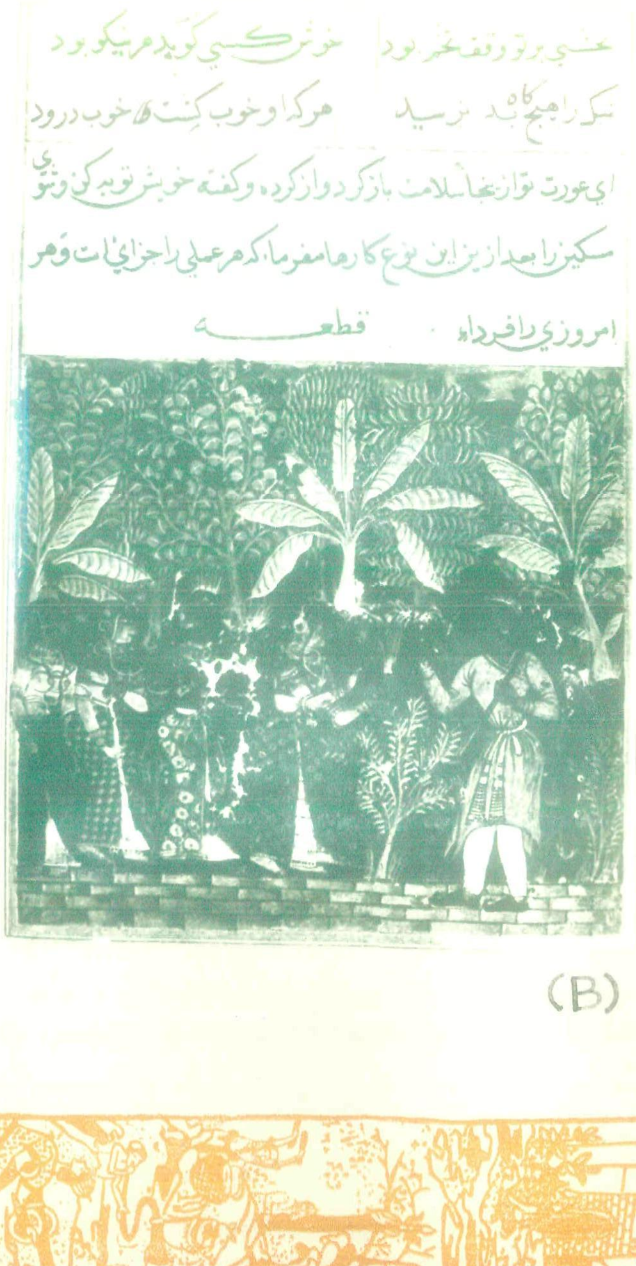


PLATE II (A) (B)



PLATE III (A)



(B)

illustrations of the Tutinama, artists trained in different traditions have contributed their pieces of art- subsequently a few miniatures have associated the Hamzah style (plate 2a) and others have striking features of pre-Mughal Indian art. The latter reveals itself in the depiction of big elongated eyes, profile faces, triangular ends of costumes, straight tree-trunks, stylised form of leaves, the tree of plantain and the dense foliage - all reminiscent to the chaurapanchasika style (plate 2b).

Under Akbar the art of painting seems confined to the illustration-work of manuscripts, for which the fable-books were equally preferred. An early dated manuscript of the Diwan- of Anwari - A.D. 1588 is embellished in pocket size represented with birds, animals and flowers etc. in subtler tones and restful rhythms. The miniatures of this manuscript have also combined the styles of Persian and Western Indian Art (plate III). The latter reveals in the representation of elongated eyes, profile faces and crowded animation. The former finds its place naturally in the depiction of landscape - the ground sprigged with flowery plants, objects drawn from bird-eye-view and elaborate design work on carpets and floors etc. The identity of different styles has survived distinctly where the painters have worked separately on folios. Among the other legendry books: Diwan of Shahi; Khamsa of Amir Khusrau of Dihalvi and Anwar-i-suhaili[6] dated A.D. 1596-97 etc. mark a passage of the real Mughal

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6. (The manuscript is preserved at Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi); Appendix no. III.

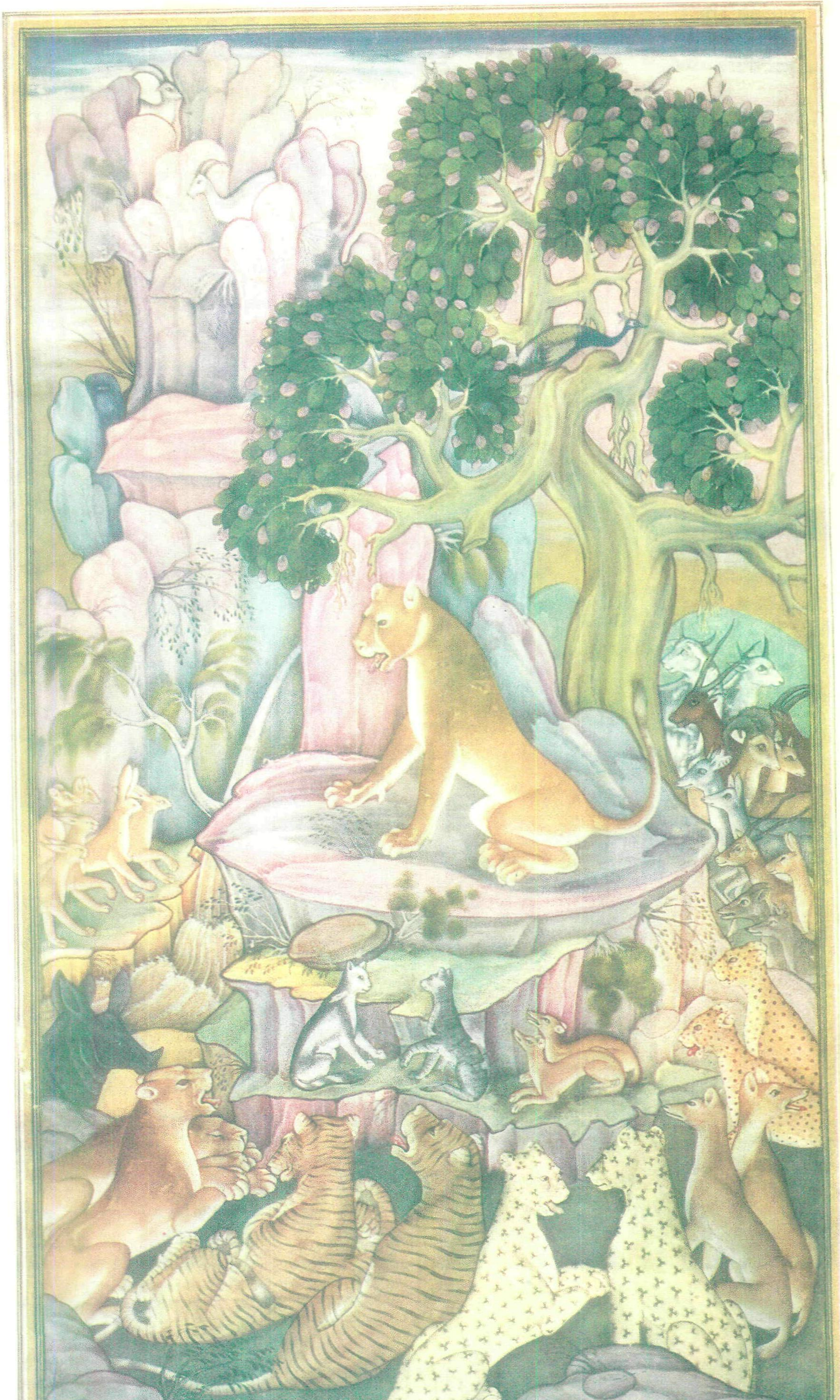


PLATE IV

art. By this time the painters had established their originality in style which became more evident as the time went on. In the present work Farrukh Chela and Miskin may be noted for their individuality. The former shows his propensity for off-shades of violet, pink and blue and for slithering shapes (plate iv). The work of Miskin is distinguished for the rhythmic figures represented in varying postures and blended in harmonious colour scheme. The folio 233 (ibid), an unsigned miniature representing 'gold coins from the belly of an ox' is entirely different in the treatment of pigments. The whole picture is finished in the tinge of one colour and the objects employed to expand the theme have submerged in the background.

Abul Fazl[7] has referred only a few names of the illustrated manuscripts though several volumes of such manuscripts and astray folios have survived to this day. The most illustrious of them may be noted as : the Hamzahnama, Tutinama, Diwan of Anwari ; Anwar-i-suhaili, Darabnama, Ayar-o-Danish, Khamsa by Amir Khosrau Dihalvi, Razmnama, Ramayana, Tuzuk-i-Baburi, Akbarnama, Tarikh-i-Khandan-i-Timuriya, Harivansha, Khamsa-o-Nizami, Laila-o-Majnun, Diwan-i-Hafiz and Rajkumar. Hindu themes were equally favoured by Akbar for illustration-work and consequently the great books of Hindus were translated into Persian language; as a result of his sympathy for Hinduism and under the policy of encouraging the understanding between the peoples of his kingdom. Subsequently, the Mahabharta,

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7. Ain; Vol. I, p. 115.

Ramayana, Hariyansha and Katha-Sarisagar etc. were taken up for the work of illustration.

Under the present study a few selected manuscripts belonging to different periods and varying in their themes i.e. fables, literary and historical-works; have been taken. These include Anwar-i-suhaili, Diwan-i-Hafiz, Razmnama, Tuzuk-i-Baburi; Akbarnama and Tarikh-i-Khandan-i-Timuriya. Several copies of these manuscripts contained with illustrations have survived which evident that a number of copies were prepared of a manuscript to meet the demand of the royal library, haram[8], nobles etc. The copies were prepared severally on the demand. Subsequently the dates of their completion varied. Extensive libraries were established at Agra, Delhi and other places equipped with originals and translations of Hindi, Persian, Greek, Kashmiris and Arabic books.[9] The manuscripts were adorned with rich bindings and miniatures. A lot of money must have been incurred in the work of illuminating these manuscripts.[10]

The manuscript of Diwan-i-Hafiz[11] in the collection of Sir Chester Beatty is the earliest dated manuscript known to us. The date of

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8. Ibid; p.
9. Ibid; p.
10. "For example, the Razmnamah, or Persian abridged translation of the Mahabharta, with preface dated A.D. 1588, now at Jaipore, is said to to have cost £40,000 Sterling; and Colonel Hanna estimates that his copy of the Ramayana, now at Washington, must have cost quite half that sum". A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon; by V.A. Smith; p. 186.

11. Appendix no. 4.

its colophon is given on folio 53 i.e. A.H. 990 (= A.D. 1582) and the name of the copiest is given Abd-al Samad. The opening folio of the copy representing different seals has displayed the circular seal of Akbar with the words - *Allahu Akbar Jalla Jalaluhu* and a small circular seal : *Mahwi Allahu Akbar* with the date of '90 (probable A.H. 990 = A.D. 1582). The manuscript contains the *gazals* and *qasidas* composed by Muhammad Shamsul-Din, usually known by his title Hafiz. Various copies of *Diwan-i-Hafiz* are known to exist. The copy belonging to Sir Chester Beatty is fragmentary and contain only 53 folios. It is defective on both the ends.

Format of the present copy is 14 x 9 cm. and the written surface measures 7.5 x 4.5 cm. A full-page contains two columns of 9 lines. It is written in beautiful *nastaliq* style on light brown paper. Inscriptions are written mostly in two columns divided from one another by two narrow gold-lines. The margins are of a lighter tone. It is bounded in leather, painted with gold-pigment, displaying three red lines along the outer edges.

Folio 7 contains a full page miniature. Throughout the volume there are a number of scattered columns of bird-illustrations, generally drawn in pairs and among the foliage. Among them blue jay, the green pigeon, the king-fisher, the demoiselle crane, the *Saras* crane and etc. can be recognised. Margins are decorated in a variety of conventional-floral designs, in gold. Folio one and two display design depicting a human head emerging from blue-petals and enclosed in circular golden-sun with wavy rays. Folio 2, 3, 52 and 53 are





PLATE V (A) (B)

pasted with plain outer margins. Inscriptions are written in white on gold-grounds on folio 2 and 3. Folio 52 and 53 contain inscription in red ink. Mainly in these four pages blue and gold pigments are used. Hashyias are drawn with the motifs of animals, human-faces and flowers etc. etc. Inscriptions are closed by employing several bands of lines drawn in varying pigments. The originals could not be accessible to us and the reliance has been made on the reproductions.

Another copy of the Diwan preserved at Rampur State Library is in good condition though incomplete towards the end.[12] It opens with an introduction which runs into seven leaves from 2 - 8. The author has not disclosed his name in the text. There are 404 folios including 11 miniatures, painted by the artists of Akbar's court. These display six names. Unfortunately a few paintings have damaged on margins. The present copy is rebounded in the blue album provided with red-leather on its corner and back. Format of the manuscript is 19.7 x 26.3 cm.

Present copy was purchased in 1273 Hijri era, corresponding to 31st January 1857 by Mohammad Kalbe Ali, Vali Ahad Rampur; from Mohammad Akram, grand-son of Hafiz Khurshid Khusnavis Lakhnavi, against the payment of rupees fifty only. Vali Ahad, Rampur has signed the manuscript in the beginning and end. Besides the autograph and seal

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12. Ibid.

of Vali Ahad, Rampur; there are the impressions of other autographs and seals, but these are faded in condition and unreadable (plate v). These faded-impressions clearify that the manuscript, before passing in the hands of Mohammad Akram; was preserved in some Imperial Library, as the tradition goes upto the last of 18th century and beginning of 19th century.

Manuscript is written in <u>nastaliq</u> - style in black ink. Only in one case red ink is used on folio 2. Paper used for calligraphy is smooth; well processed; light buff in shade; sprinkled with gold-dust and uniform in size. Generally the written surface measures 15 x 8 cm. A full page contains 13 lines. Several bands of lines-drawn in green, blue, red, black and gold-pigment, are employed on the margins of each folio. Casually floral patterns are drawn to decorate the bands. Thickness of border is measured from 1 to 1.4 cm.

Mounts employed in the margins of folios, are slightly thick and hard though smooth and well polished. These are of various shades: brown, dark-brown, deep green, dark-grey and blue. Mounts provided with illustrations are illuminated with line-drawings of birds, animals, flowers and ornamental motifs. Lines are drawn in gold pigment. Inner-part of the objects is always filled with some pigment deep in tone than the shade of mount-sheet. Sometimes, the objects are drawn after the Chinese tradition.

Generally the paintings cover a full page. Two or three lines of the

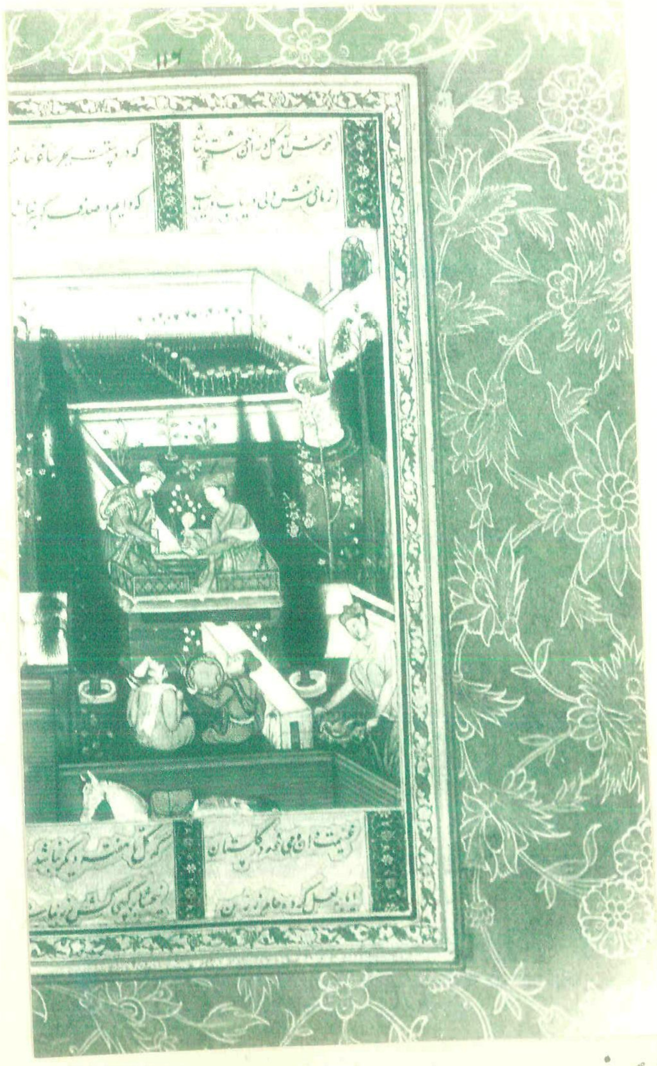




PLATE VI i (A) ii (A)



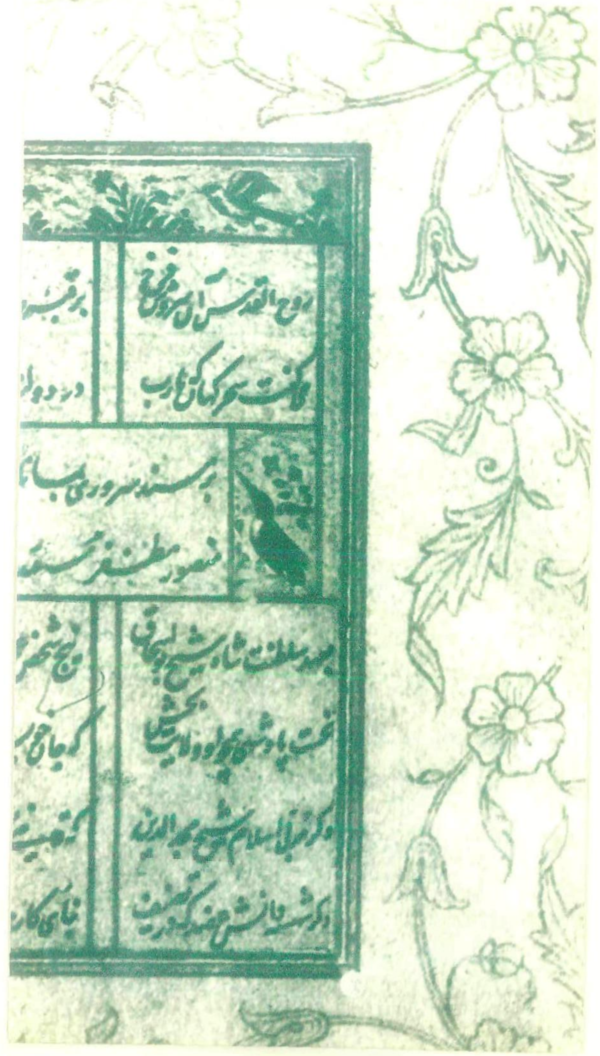


PLATE VI i(B) ii(B)

text are composed with illustrations on the top, or below, or on both places. Thus, hieght of the miniatures has varied from 8.2 cm. to 11.3 cm. and the width exceeds from 7.8 cm. to 8.8. cm.

Opening of the manuscript with the term "Allaho Akbar", help us to understand that probably this copy was scribed during the days when Din-Ilahi was already introduced by the emperor Akbar. Falling which, colophon of the manuscript may be fixed 1582 approximately; but as such there is no literary evidence, it remains a conjecture. Though the distinct similarities in the setting of the text, in two columns divided from one another by two narrow gold lines, decoration of margins with conventional motifs of animals and flowers represented in line-drawing and painted in gold pigment lying in both the copies of Diwan (C.B. and Rampur) help us to understand that most probably both belonged to same era. The design of margins has appeared almost identical in them (plate vi). The painters who have worked on its folios mainly Kanha, Manohar, Sanvlah and Farrukh Chela seem mainly inspired by the Persian traditions, though the gradual changing modes in their expression may be seen in their later works.[13] The most distinguished picture of the manuscript on folio 177, painted by Farrukh Chela, form the background comprising of hills, trees and

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13. Farrukh Chela: Anwar-i-suhaili; f.30 (Varanasi); Razmnama; pls. 80, 137(Jaipore); Tarikh-i-Khandan-i- Timuria; ff. 101a, 108b (Patna) and Tuzuk-i-Baburi; pl.4 (B.M.); Kanha: Akbarnama; pls. 12,13,64,97(V.A.); Razm. pls. 15,29,30,59,81,98,99,115,121,122 (Jaipore); Manohar: Tuzuk; pl.42 (B.M.); Sanvlah: Razm; pl. 4 (Jaipore); Tarikh; f.206b(Patna); Akb; pl. 31,54,92,107 (V.A.); ff. 71, 122 (C.B.); Tuzuk; pl. 19,38(B.M.).



PLATE VII (A)



PLATE VII (B)

springing plants and the human figures drawn in three-quarter faces which associate the Persian Qalam (plate viia). The propensity for off-shades and slithering shapes- specially in the representation of animal figures, observed in the present example has also survived in the later works of the artist.[14] Similarly the profuse decoration, sky painted in gold, objects drawn from bird-eye-view and three-quarter faces etc. displayed on folio 314 probably by Narsing, drew the art of the Diwan close to the Persian miniatures (plate vii b). Painters of the copy have mostly preferred three-quarter-faces, long, loose costumes- reminiscent to the Persian tradition and profuse decoration of floor and carpet etc. In the representation of landscape artist is mostly inspired by Persian style. The folio 74 painted by Sanvalh, represents the whole landscape in the same Qalam. Though Indian trends are not wanting in these miniatures. The latter reveals itself casually in the treatment of plantains, dense foliage of trees and rhythm in the human figures.

The miniatures of Razm[15] (Jaipore), Tarikh[16].(Patna), Tuzuk (National Museum)[17] and Anwar[18] (Varanasi) form the second group of Akbari illustrations. Most of the illuminated manuscripts have belonged to the period ranging from 1585 to 1600 A.D. The Akbarnama[19] miniatures come in the last group.

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14. Plate iv.
15. Appendix No. 5.
16. Appendix No.6.
17. Appendix No.7.
18. Appendix No.3.
19. Appendix No.2.

Only three well illustrated copies of the manuscript Razmnama - illustrated by the painters of the Akbar's court, are known to exist at present in : City Palace Museum, Jaipore; Rajasthan; Baroda State Museum, Gujrat and British Museum, London. Razmnama is the Persian abridgement of the ancient book Mahabharta - a religious book of Hindus. It was repeatedly copied by the grandees and richly illuminated with miniatures by the painters of the court; who were ordered by the Emperor Akbar.[20] It is not clear whether the translation into Persian langauge was made from the Sanskrit or Hindi or the both languages. Abul Fazl states that it was translated from Hindi into Persian.[21] Badaoni has shown the probability that there may have been Hindi translations or extracts;[22] as Akbar himself explained a few passages of Mahabharta to Naqib Khan - a translator.[23] Translation-work was taken up by Naqib Khan, Abdur Qadir of Badaoni and Shaikh Sultan of Thanesar.[24] Abul Fazl wrote an introduction to it. In all

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20. "This Razmnāma was illuminated and repeatedly copied; the grandees were ordered to make copies, and Abul Fazl wrote and introduction to it about two guj etc. etc." Muntakhabut-Tawarikh, translation by W.H.Lowe; Vol. II, p. 302; Ain, Vol. I, pp. 111-112 (f.n. 2).

21. "The Mahābhārtā which belongs to the ancient books of Hindustan has likwise been translated from Hindi into Persian, under the superintendence of Naqib Khān, Mawlānā ? Abdu-i-Qadir of Badāoni and Shaykh Sultān of Thanesar." Ibid; pp. 110-111.

22. Badaoni, Vol. II, p. 209.

23. Ibid, p. 302; Ain, Vol. I, p. 111-112.

24. Badaoni, Vol.II, p. 302; Ain Vol. I, p. xli.

it contained nearly one hundred thousand verses.[25] Latter portions of the manuscript were completed by Mulla Sheri and Naqib Khan. Besides, several Hindu learneds were employed to explain Mahabharta, to the translators.[26] Work was completed during the year 990 A.H;[27] and was titled Razmnama.[28] T.M. Hindley has wrongly interpreted Badaoni's account, where he mentions in his book that order for its translation was given by Akbar in 990 A.H. (= A.D. 1582). This task must have been taken a few years earlier to 1582 A.D. Sultan Haji of Thanaswar[29] took four years to finish the translation of Mahabharta, start of which was already taken up by Naqib Khan. Keeping in view these accounts commecning date of Razmnama may be taken round about 985 A.H.

Present copy of Jaipore contains 169 miniatures. Out of which 147 have been published in volume IV of the Memorial of the Jaipore Exhibition 1883.[30] Manuscript opens with a preface by Abul Fazl, dated 1588 A.D. (= A.H. 995). Keeping it in view the miniatures

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25. Ibid; p. 111.
26. Ibid; p. 115.
27. "Among the remarkable events of this year is the translation of Mahābhārtā, ...and when fairly engrossed and embllished with pictures, the Amirs had orders to take copies of it, with the blessing and favour of God". Badaoni, Vol.II, pp. 329-331.
28. Razmnamah (Memorial of the Jeypore Exhibition-1883), Vol.IV; City Palace Museum Jeypore.
29. Badaoni, Vol. III, p. 173.
30. Originals could not be accessible to us and the Study has been based on the book Razmnamah-Memorial of the Jaipore Exhibition, 1883;Vol.IV;by T.H.Hendley; which displays only 147 miniatures in black and white.

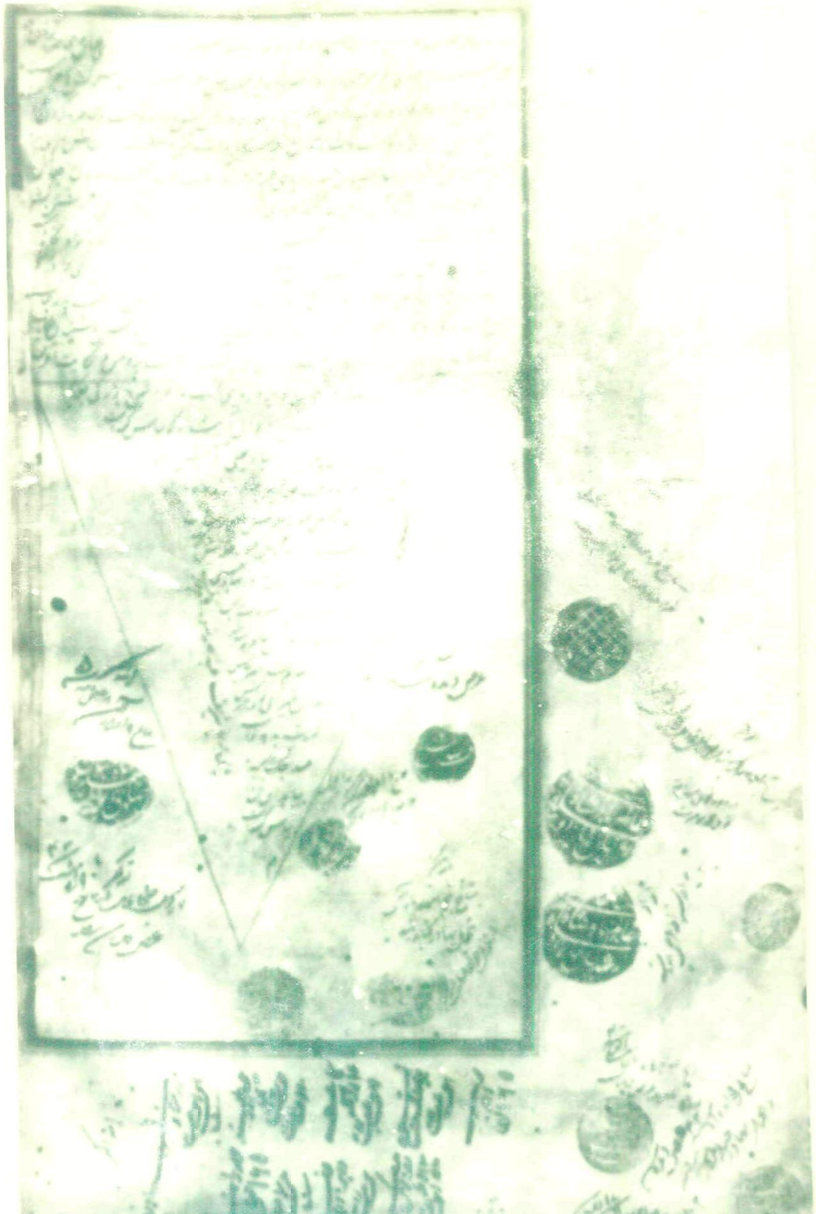


PLATE VIII

of the copy may be dated 1590 A.D; as such work of illumination must have taken a few years towards its completion.[31] Exact date of its possession in Jaipore is not known. Last leaf of the manuscript bears the impression of eleven seals, of which five are unreadable (plate viii). Remaining six can be read likewise.

a- Mohibbe Ali, Banda-ash Akbarshah.

b- Sadikullah Khan, Banda-ash Shahjehan.

c- Arshed Khan Khanizad Shah Alam Padshah Gazi.

d- " " " " " " " .

e- Akbul Haq Bin Qasim Shirazi.

f- Fatehullah Bin Abdul Fateh.

These impress of seals clearifies that this copy passed from the libraries of the grandees belonging to the reign of the emperor Akbar, Shahjehan and Shah Alam. The earliest arzadidah is in the right hand corner at the bottom over the seal of Mohibbe Ali. It is dated 1003 A.H. (= 1594 A.D.). Latest is the seal of Arshed Khan servant of the emperor Shah Alam. It is dated A.H. 1119 (= 1708 A.D.).

Besides, a few double page illustrations, mostly these are one page

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31. Copy of the Razmnama, embellished with pictures- completed during the year 1582 A.D. (= 990 A.H.); may be taken as the first illuminated copy of the manuscript and the Jaipore Manuscript, dated 995 A.H. (=1588 A.D.) belonged to the later work.

illustrations. These display 46 names of the painters,[32] which cover the list given by Abul Fazl in the Ain[33] wrtith an exception of Mir Sayyid Ali, Khawaja Abdus Samad and Haribas. Generally miniatures are signed. Thirty-eight plates display single name of the artist and 99 plates are the example of joint-work which include two names.[34] Only in one instance three artists have joined the work on plate Cxiv. Sketch is drawn by one artist and the colouring is done by another.

Themes generally executed on the whole page, mostly have a line or two or and more of the text on the above or lower margin of the miniature or sometimes on the both places. Several bands of line in various pigments are employed to close the illustrations.

The miniatures are mainly the work of three leading artists i.e.[35] Daswanth, Basawan and Lal. In most cases they are assisted by side artists who accomplished the work of colouring etc. Crowded animation, loss of effect due to the introduction of so many objects, confused

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32. Appendix no. 5.

33. Ain; Vol.I, p.114 (Mir Sayyid Ali; Khawaja Abdus Samad; Daswanth; Basawan; Kesu; Lal; Mukund; Muskin; Farrukh the Qalmaq; Madhu; Jagan; Mahesh; Khem Karan; Tara; Sanvlh, Haribas and Ram).

34. Appendix no. 5.

35. Daswanth: pls. 6, 9, 12, 14, 24, 32, 33, 43, 47, 48, 54, 62, 63, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 73, 74, 88, 100, 108 (23 miniatures); Basawan: pls. 7, 10, 12, 14, 21, 22, 34, 39, 40, 50, 53, 59, 64, 65, 70, 76, 81, 84, 106, 112, 113, 115, 117, 120, 121, 122, 126, 127, 130, 145(30 miniatures); Lal: pls. 4,5,8,16,23,35, 41, 46,51, 52,55, 66, 75, 77, 79, 82, 83, 87, 89, 93, 109, 110, 111, 114, 116, 119, 123, 124, 125, 144 (30 miniatures).

compositions, elaborated scenes, vitality in figures, sumptous array of colours are the main characteristics of the illustrations. The copy of Baroda State Museum (Gujrat) is of a notably lesser quality. The representation of minute details, finish, decoration and casually the drawing of human figures show lack of skill. However the chief canons of painting which characterise the Mughal miniatures are clearly observed as having been followed in it also. Obviously, such copies were prepared to meet the demand of nobality and less exalted officials.

The Razmnama presrved in Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery, Baroda (Gujrat) is far from complete. This copy contains only 32 scattered, loosed sheets displaying miniatures on the front and text on their back. From the contents of these folios, name of the scriber and the place where it was composed; is not traced. It is written in nastaliq handwriting on buff-shade paper in black-ink. All the leaves are equal in size; that is 18.5 cm. x 30.5 cm. A full page contains 27 lines, measuring 9.5 cm. in length. The written surface is measured 18.5 cm. x 30.5 cm. Several bands of line - 4 to 5 in number drawn in black or blue colours with gold-pigment - are employed to close the text and illustrations on their margins. The scale of miniatures vary from 10.5 cm to 15.8 cm. into width and 19.5 cm. to 28.5 cm. in hieght.

Paintings display 19 names of the painters,[36] a few of which popularly

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36. Appendix no. 5.

known for their works in the other manuscripts; of the Akbar's court. Mostly these are written in black-ink, though a few in red; on the lower margin of the border. Three illustrations are unsigned. All the miniatures are remargined and preserved in loose-sheets at the Museum. Their pigments are yet fresh. However, unfortunately, a few are damaged on margins.

The manuscript bears an accession no. 198/1-32, in Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery. The location of the manuscript from the date of its colophon, is difficult to be ascertained. The colophon may be recorded from plate no. 31 - painted by Pak artist, displaying Agni, disguised as a pigeon, seeking king Usinara's protection - dated 1007 of the Hijri era, corresponding to 1598 A.D.

Various copies of the Tarikh are preserved but unfortunately all are far from complete. Abul Fazl has not mentioned this manuscript with the illustrated work. But there are many more illustrated manuscripts surviving to this day, and which are not referred in the Ain-i-Akbari. The most important of which are Darabnama (B.M.); Tuzuk-i-Baburi (B.M; National Museum, Moscow etc.); Bahristan (Bod. Lib.); Akbarnama (C.B; V.A.); Harivansh (Lucknow State Museum); Khamsa by Nizami (Dyson Perrins Collection) etc. etc.

The manuscript preserved at Khuda Baksh Oriental Public Library, Patna, known as Tarikh-i-Khandan-i-Timuria[37] or Timurnama is far from complete

37. Appendix no. 6.

and defective on both the ends. It opens in the middle of introduction and ends immediately after the account of Akbar's second compaign in Gujrat in the 19th year of his reign (A.H. 991 = A.D. 1573). The copy opens with the Timur's march in search of Amir Hasan (folio 7).[38] Abd al-Muqtadir has suggested that perhaps the present work may be Chingiz-namah, one of the works mentioned by Abul Fazl; but it has become difficult to accept it as the manuscript does not contain any account of Chingiz, hence the doubt raised remains a conjecture.

The colophon of the manuscript is lacking though it may be fixed after the date of completion of Razm (Jaipore). By this time most probably the painter Daswanth, contemporary to Basawan, had commited suicide. His whole contribution belonged to the Razm. (Jaipore) and these illustrations may be taken the start and the end of the short-lived painter. Consequently, we do not come across his name in the manuscripts illustrated later viz. Tuzuk-i-Baburi; Anwar-i-suhaili; Akbarnama etc. etc. Hence it may be presumed that upto the time the work of illumination of Tarikh-i-Alfi was taken up, Daswanth was no more in existence.[39] Badaoni tells us that during the year A.H. 10,00 (=1591-92); Akbar ordered to compile a history of all kings of Islam and the work was distributed among Naqib Khan, Shah Fath-ullah, Hakim Humayun, Hakim Ali, Haji Ibrahim Sarhindi, Mirza Nizamuddin Ahmad and himself.[40] He further tells us that in the year

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38. Storey; pp. 298-99, (No. 367).
39. Badaoni; vol. I, pp. 327-28.
40. Ibid; p. 329.

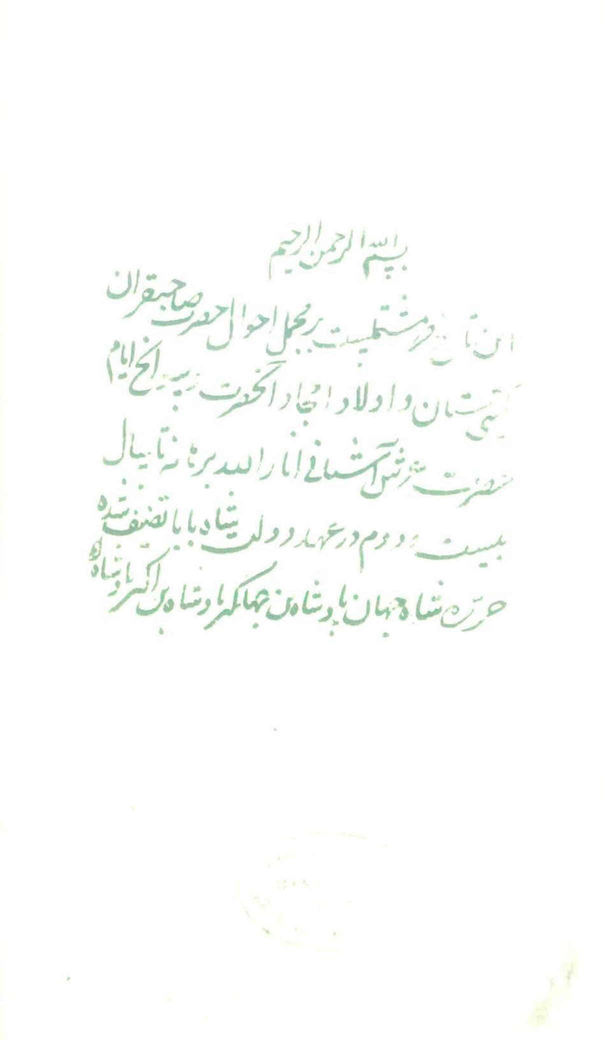


PLATE X

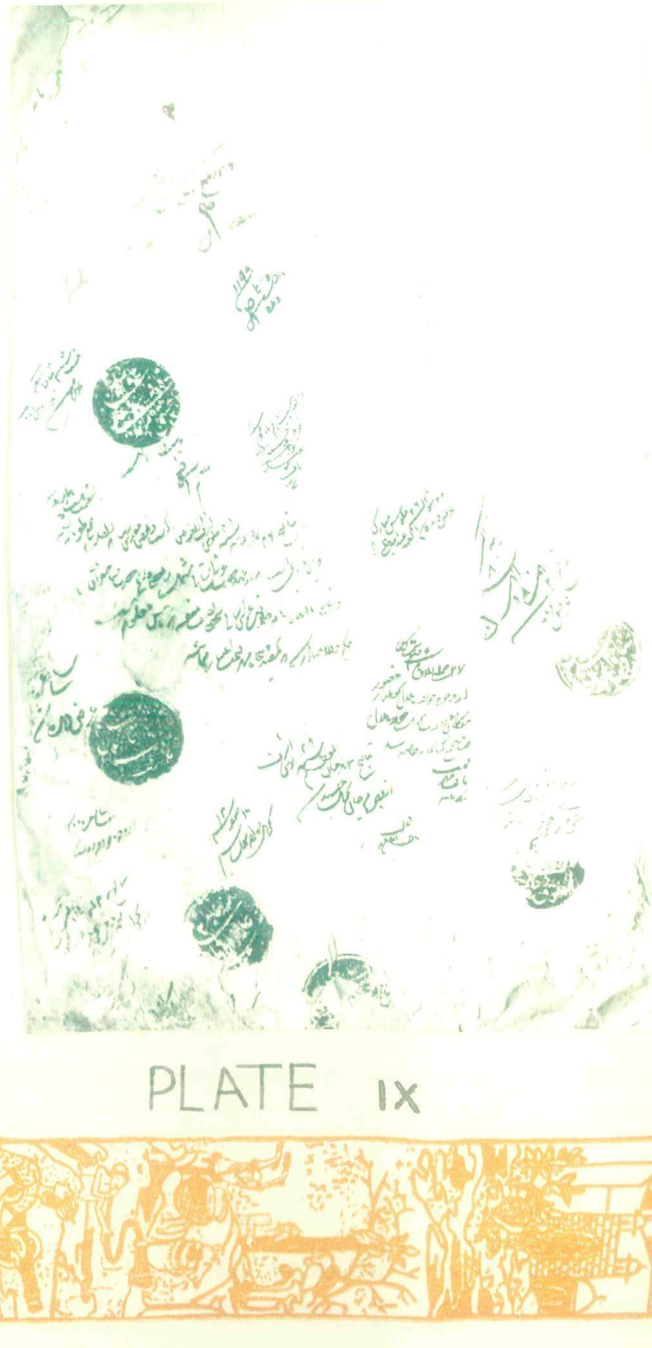


PLATE IX

A.H. 1001 (= 1592-93) he revised the composition of first two volumes and latter volumes were assigned to Asaf Khan. On the completion of the Tarikh an introduction was written by Abul Fazl.[41] Keeping in view the above facts the date of competion of the manuscript may be taken 1595 A.D. The manuscript containing several volumes was illustrated though, it is difficult to say whether the entire Tarikh was illuminated or only the few parts were choosen for the work. The work of illumination must have taken a few years towards the completion. Keeping it in view the miniature of the present copy may be dated 1597 A.D.

The name of the author and the title of the work is not found in the text. The place where the manuscript was composed, is not known. Present copy deals with the History of Timur and his successors in Iran, and of Babur, Humayun and Akbar down to the 22nd years of his reign. The history of 20th, 21st and 22nd years is wanting. In the beginning of the manuscript, author has praised 'Zafar Namah - a well known history of Timur, written by Sharaf-ud-Din Ali Yazdi (A.H. 858 = A.D. 1454). In the latter parts he often quotes the 'Tuzuk-i-Baburi' as his source. It is found that the account of Sultan Hussain Mirza and the short sketches of all the famous men of his time (folios 233a-236b) are taken exclusively from the said work.

First fly-leaf of the copy bears 7 seals (plate ix). One, extreme above in the right side is the seal of Shah Alam Bakshi Mohummad Ali and the second a little below to it, bears the sign of Shah Jahan

41. Ain; vol. I, p. 113.

Badshah. Rest seals are faded in condition. Besides the seal there are several Ard-didahs. Those are legible read thus :

1. Abdullah Chulpi
2. Khawaja Suhail
3. Khawaja Hidar
4. Abdul Gafur
5. Muhammad Baqir
6. Nur Muhammad

Second fly-leaf bears an autograph of Shahjahan (plate x).

Out of 132 illustrations 65 display the name of two artists.[42] In such cases artist's name are followed with the words Tarah (sketch or drawing) and Amal (colouring or painting). Sometimes Range Amji word is prefixed to the name. In a few cases the Tarah and Amal is by one artist and the Chehra nami (face-drawing) by another.

Pigments are yet fresh. Unfortunately a few paintings are damaged on margins. The whole manuscript is remargined, and bounded in a red-album decorated with a spray of ornamental motifs in the geometrical settings- drawn in golden pigment.

A few astray folios of Tarikh-i-Alfi[43] in the collection of Ajit Ghosh, Calcutta have also been claimed to be an original work belonging to

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42. Appendix no. 6.
43. Discovery of a portion of the original illustrated manuscript of 'Tarikh-i-Alfi written for the emperor Akbar by M.Mahfuzul Haq; Islamic Culture, vol. 5, pp. 462-71 (1931).

the court of Akbar. It is written in nastaliq and contains of large size folios. In most cases miniatures appear on one side of the leaf. These bear only five names of the artists i.e. Shankar of Gujrat; Sarvan, Tirya, Surdas and Brahsapat. The latter is unknown in the other manuscripts.

Legendry books provide a greater scope for the imagination to an artist who employs the same in filling up the blanks and providing a suitable background to the central-theme. Among such illustrated books the Anwar-i-suhaili manuscript is one of the best collections. Three illustrated copies of Anwar-i-Suhaili[44] are known to exist. These are preserved at Bharat Kala Bhawan, Varanasi, India; School of Oriental and African Studies, London; and British Museum, London (B.M. Add. 18579) respectively. The collections of the former two are the part of our study. The latter copy was finished during the reign of Jahangir, though illustration-work was started towards the end of Akbar's reign. The colophon of the manuscript is dated 1019 of the Hijri era, corresponding to 1610 or 1611 A.D. Two out of thirty six paintings of this MS. are dated six years earlier to A.H. 1019; which shows that the work was projected long ahead (in the time of Akbar).

Anwar-i-Suhaili (Bharat Kala Bhawan)

The present copy is complete and good in condition. It contains 239 folios. Three folios - no. 115, 154 and 236 are reported missing.

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44. Appendix no. 3.



PLATE XI

Each sheet measures approximately $11\frac{3}{4}$ x $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The manuscript is written in black-ink, in a beautiful nastaliq handwriting. A full page contains 15 lines and the written surface measures $7\frac{4}{5}$ x $4\frac{1}{10}$ inches. Occasionally we come across the sub-heading and the artist's names scribed in red-ink. Paper is light buff in shade, well-polished and processed. Paper of 24 sheets from folio no. 194 to 217 is reported of deep in tone than other sheets. Colophon of the manuscript is dated 1005 of the Hijri era. An illustrated folio 242, painted by the artist-Anant; displays that this copy was scribed by Abdur Rahman-al-Haravi at Lahore. In this miniature artist has painted the scriber with his helper (plate xi). Whole manuscript is rebinded. Present binding is in red album illuminated with floral designs drawn in gold-pigment.

It contains 26 illustrations, which display fourteen names of artists. First miniature which is a double-page illustration differs in style from the rest of the paintings. It is Persian in style. Costumes, utensils and musical instruments depicted in the painting, all belongs to Persia. It does not bear the name of artist. And a few other illustrations do not display artist's name. Generally a painting covers the full page- a few have three or four lines of text above. Two illustrations are on half-page.

Illustrations and the text are closed by employing several band of lines drawn in black, green, red and gold pigments. These lines vary from 6 to 8 in number in the margin of .5 cm.

In Kala Bhawan Varanasi, the manuscript bear the accession no. 9069. It was purchased for Kala Bhavan from Dr. Bhagvati Prasad Singh, D.Lit; of Gonda district (Uttar Pradesh) against the payment of Rs.22,000; to whom it was awarded in April, 1958 for his literary achievements, by the Raja of State Balrampur (Gonda); where it was preserved in the Balrampur Palace Library. It was Maharaja Digvijay Singh who brought this copy Balrampur from Oudh State Library, Lucknow in 1858. The location of the MS. from the date of its colophon (A.H. 1005), is difficult to be ascertained. Probably it was preserved at Imperial Library, Delhi as the tradition goes upto the end of 18th century; from where it was brought Lucknow by Saddat Khan - the V Nawab-Vajir of Oudh (1748-1814); or Asaf-ud-Daullah (1775-1797) - a great patron of Art, might have obtained it from Rohillas after conquering them. But we do not find any literary eivdence in support of this view and it remains a conjecture.

The illustrated chronicles have proved of greater interset, of which the miniatures of Tuzuk-i-Baburi have attracted the most to the critics. It may be taken the richest collection of Akbari art as we come across of the greatest number of its copies, survived to this day. The original Memoir*, called Tuzuk-i-Baburi was written in the Turkish language and covers the biography of its author from his childhood in Samarkand upto the time of his death in 1529. An incomplete copy of the Turkish text, now preserved in the Salarjang Museum, Hyderabad, is the lone surviver known to us at present. This was transacribed in the period

of Aurangzeb's reign and was consulted by Mrs. Beveridge in connection[45] of her translation of the work into English.[46]

Of the several translations of the Tuzuk-i-Baburi that by Abdul Rahim Khankhanan, the Scholar-general of Akbar's court is the completest and the best known.[47] It was made and presented finally to the king in 1590.[48] In 1583 however one, Paiyanda Hasan of Ghazna and Muhammad Quli of Hisar, had taken up the work of translation privately.[49] These were not completed and the originals are extant in the libraries of the British Museum and the Bodleian Library respectively.

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45. Bab. Vol. I. p. XII; p. XIvi, line 21-22.

46. "This book is a translation of Babur Padshah's Autobiography, made from the original Turki Text. It was undertaken after a purely Turki manuscript had become assessible in England, the Haiderabad codex (1905) which, being in Babur's ipsissima Verba, left to him the control of his translation diction -a control that had been impracticable from the time when, under Akbar (1589), his book was translated into Persian. Ibid, p. XXVII.

47. Ibid, p. XXXIV, lines 22-25;"The Memoirs of Babur, the conqueror of the world, which may be called a code of practical wisdom, have been translated from Turkish into Persian by Mīrzā? Abdu-r-Rahīm Khān the present Khān Khānān (Commander-in-chief), Ain, Vol. I, p. 112, lines 6-9.

48. "In the 34th year he presented to Akbar a copy of his Persian translation of Bābur's chaghtāi Memoirs (Wāqiat-i-Bābarī)". Ibid, p. 355, lines 38-39; "On this day the Khān Khānān(Bairām's sone 'Abd'u-r-Rahim) produced before the august Presence the Memoirs of Firdūs Makānī (Bābur) which he had rendered into Persian out of the Turkī, and received great praise". Akb; Vol. III, p.862, lines 21-24; Bab. vol. I, p. XIIV, lines 12-14.

49. Ibid, pp. XIiii-XIiv, line 31-32 and 1-5.

The great variety of themes and the imaginative rendering of events of the *Tuzuk-i-Baburi* offer a wide scope for the painter to draw his subjects. Of the several illustrated manuscripts of the *Tuzuk-i-Baburi* only five are known to exist. These are preserved in the National Museum of Delhi; the British Museum; the State Museum of Oriental Cultures, Moscow; the Victoria and Albert Museum, London and the Lauvre, Paris. The last three are incomplete collections and the last two have not been accessible to us. A single painting representing a bird catcher at work is contained in the Fog Art Museum, Boston.

The Delhi manuscript is a collection of loose sheets and bears no library mark. In all, it contains 145 painted folios of which only 54[50] bear the names of the artists which are 40 in number. 55 paintings are unsigned while the rest have the names either written illegibly or have got half eliminated at the time of cutting out the margins.

Time must have taken its toll, nevertheless the painters of the Delhi manuscript have preserved, to a remarkable extent, the freshness and shine of the original colours. The leaves of the manuscript are all equal. The sizes of the actual paintings however vary from 17 to 28 cms. in length and 14 to 17 cms. in width. It still remains unpublished. Folio 116 bears a valuable note declaring that the painting on it was completed in the 42nd regnal year which is equivalent to 1598. The *hashyias* are decorated with bands of lines and not by decorative floral or geometrical designs. Some of these paintings also contain illustrative blurbs from the Persian text. These are positioned either on the top margin or distributed into two, occuring also at the

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50. Appendix no. 7.

bottom. The manuscript has not been published and the paintings have been consulted by us in original.

The British Museum manuscript (no. Or. 3714) has also maintained a good deal of its original lustre. There are 116 painted folios in it-the signed ones bearing the names of 54 different artists. The manuscript measures 23.5 x 33 cms., while the paintings vary at an average of 28 x 15.5 cms.[51] 96 of these have been published in colour in an enlarged size of 26 x 16 or 15 cms. The hashyias are done in beautiful, running floral patterns.

With regard to the Moscow collection we have had to depend entirely on the fine reproductions published by the State Fine Arts Publishing House, Moscow in 1960.[52] The manuscript is unfortunately incomplete and contains only 69 paintings. There are 18 colour plates in it; the rest are in black and white. Their sizes vary from 22-26 cms. in length to 14-17 cms. in breadth. The reproductions are however smaller, having an average size of 23 cms. x 14 cms. These are all in flash cut and have not names of the artists. The general condition of the manuscript is stated to be good. Two paintings which had been damaged during the course of time have been retouched as follows:-

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51. The originals being not accessible to us, reliance has had to be made on these reproductions mainly. These however have been supplemented by a micro film of the complete collection as well as black and white reproductions of them;including 96 coloured reproductions published by the Academy of Science of the Uzbek SSR, Alisher Navoi Literature Museum; Tashkent(1970). The work is compiled by Prof. Hamid Suleiman and titled:Miniatures of Baburnama.

52. Indian Art in Soviet Collections,Publishing House Moscow, 1955; Miniatures of Baburnamah, State Fine Arts Publishing House, Moscow, 1960.

1. Illustration 38 : Sky is repainted blue.

2. Illustration 19 : One leg of a horse in distant group is repainted.

The manuscript was discovered in 1906 by one Mr. A.V. Morozor who purchased it from an Iranian merchant at a fair in Nizhni-Norgorod now called Gorky city. From him it was purchased by a famous Russian collector of Oriental antiquities, named P.1. Suchkin who made it over to the State Museum of Oriental cultures, Moscow.

A number of themes are common to all these three manuscripts. There is however a difference of opinion existing among modern scholars with regard to the date when the British Museum manuscript may have been illustrated. Without giving any reasons however V.A. Smith[53] has determined the year 1600 as the most likely date. Dr. Motichandra[54] places it in 1561 whereas P.Brown[55] dates the collection upto 1575. All of these scholars however agree that it was done during the reign of Akbar. As we know that the earliest translation of the Tuzuk-i-

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53. "In one manuscript, the Waqiat-i-Baburi, or history of Babur, written and illustrated about A.D. 1600, towards the close of Akbar's reign (or 3714), 1 noted the names of twenty two artists, and probably overlooked several". A Histor of; p. 192.

54. "In the first half of Akbar's reign Baburnamah (British Museum) was illustrated and in the second half of his reign, Baburnama h (Victoria and Albert Museum) and Baburnama (Stchoukine Collection Moscow) were prepared". The Technique of the Mughal Painting; p. 91.

55. "The oldest group as already stated, consists of the Darabnama and the Baburnama in the British Museum, both of which were probably finished about 1575". Indian Paintings Under the Mughals; p. 113.

Baburi was made in 1583, the dates given by Motichandra and P. Brown are out of question. We also know that Khankhana presented his translation to the king in 1590. Placing this fact along with the date (1598 A.D.) given in the Delhi manuscript, it should not be difficult to guess that the emperor highly delighted at the work at once ordered it to be illustrated, a task which considering the number of paintings, the slow careful work and other complementaries involved, could normally have taken a few years to complete.

That the three manuscripts under consideration belong to the same period (1590 to 1600) is evidented from the fact that there are strong technical and stylistic similarities among them. The themes selected are generally the same. Their compositions in most cases are identical. The texts of the blurbs which are in Persian are also the same; these points should be enough to establish beyond doubt that these manuscripts have a common origin in time and place. The date of the Delhi manuscript is therefore applicable to the other manuscripts also. Incidently folio 116, bearing the date, 1598 was not necessarily the last to be painted and we may safely extend the time of the completion of the entire work upto 1600.

The paintings contained in the Moscow manuscript are of a notably lesser quality than those of the other two manuscripts. The representation of human figure specially shows lack of skill[56] and the same is

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56. Tuzuk; pls. 2, 10, 19, 21, 23, 65, 68, 69 (Moscow).

true with regard to more minute details, finish, decoration and drawing. However the chief canons of paintings which characterise the British Museum and Delhi collections are clearly observed as having been followed in it also. It had been a practice that when several illustrations of a single theme were required to be painted the work was distributed among the artists according to the degree of their skill. Those intended for the royal use must have been entirely done by the top artists. Some were made by their pupils who having worked upon them under expert guidance submitted them to their superiors for correction, retouching and finalisation. Obviously these copies were presented to the lesser ones among the nobility. Several of such paintings bear notes declaring the name of a pupil often written along with the appellation of Chela, meaning the pupil. Where the appellation is not given, it is not difficult to markout the name of a well known artist from the other, a lesser known one.

Illustrations of the Akbarnama[57] form the last group of the miniatures painted at the court of Akbar. Only three copies of the manuscript Akbarnama are known to exist at present in Sir Chester Beatty Collection; Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington (I.S.) Calarke MSS. no. 117; and British Museum, London (or. 12988). The Akbarnama is a detailed history of Akbar's reign comprising Akbar's birth, genealogy of Timurids, reigns of Babur and Humayun; Akbar's reign

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57. Appendix no. 2.

from the first to the middle of 17th year to the end of the 46th.

The copy, in the collection of Chester Beatty was purchased from Quaritch in 1923. Probably this is one of the volumes carried off into Persia by Nadir Shah from the Royal Library of Delhi.[58]

The whole manuscript is rebounded and all the folios have been set within broad margins of a paper which is lighter in shade than the original sheets. The present binding was probably done by Muhammad Zaman Abbasi, whose name occurs at the bottom of the inside of the right hand corner. The name of the author and the place where it was composed, is not known. The colophon of the MS. is lacking. Probably it was completed upto 1602 A.D.[59]

The size of the sheets is 43 x 26 cm. The written surface measures 24 x 13 cm. and a full-page contains 22 lines. It is written in black-ink in a clear <u>nastaliq</u> handwriting on a light brown-tone; well-polished and processed paper. Present copy contains 268 folios including 61 miniatures. Themes are executed generally on the whole page- a few have a line or two of text above and below. 14 illustrations are on double page. Paintings display 20 names of artists.[60]

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58. <u>A Catalogue of the Indian Miniatures</u> ; vol. I, p. 5.

59. <u>Ibid</u>.

60. Appendix no. 2.

In a few paintings signature of the artists are cut on the margin. Only two paintings bear more than one name of artists. The illustrations and text is closed with several bands of lines, drawn in red, green, blue and gold pigments.

The manuscript of Victoria and Albert Museum has survived in good condition though mutilated towards the end. It contains 461 folios and bears an autograph of the emperor Jahangir. Colophon of the copy is lacking. Most probably it was finished towards the ending years of Akbar's reign and the date of its completion may be taken about 1600 A.D. Format of the manuscript is 12 x $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The miniatures mostly cover the full page and a few are double page illustrations. Margins are left plain. Only the bands of lines remain to close the minaitures. These display 52 names of the painters.[61] All alike the Razm (Jaipore) and Tarikh (Patna), the illustrations of the Akbarnama are mostly the creations of joint-artists. Only in two instances on plate 1 and 114 we come across four names of the painters who accomplished the work of tarah, amal, chehranami and surat.

The autograph of the emperor evidents that this manuscript was placed in the library by Jahangir on his accession i.e. 1605 A.D. It leads someone to presume that most probably this copy was in the personal care of Jahangir from the time of his prince-hood. Percy Brown is

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61. Ibid.

of the opinion that the present copy was prepared by the artists of lesser tallent and hence it hardly may be regarded as the actual handiwork of Akbar's school.[62] One come across of the several names of the leading artists i.e. Basawan, Lal, Madhu, Kesu, Mahesh, Miskin, Khemkaran, Kanha, Sanvalh, Jagan, Farrukh Beg, Mukund and Shankar etc. who have contributed their masterpieces on the folios of Akbarnama (V.A.). Many of them have been reckoned by Abul Fazl and widely known for their works in the Razm.(Jaipore); Tarikh.(Patna); Anwar (Varanasi) and the Tuzuk (B.M. & National Museum Delhi) etc. Basawan, Lal and Miskin are the main artists of the Akbarnama[63] who illuminated the greater number of miniatures. Their works hardly leave someone to doubt in the draughtmanship, accuracy of form etc. represented in the miniatures and in accepting them the celeberated production of the royal Karkhana. One would not be wrong to confess that the individuality of the painters has lost in most cases. The reason of the same may well be understood. Under the system of joint-work two or more artists worked on one miniature and accomplished the work of tarah, amal and chehranami etc. separately. In this system the skill of the painter should have tended towards the delimination.[64] The

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62. Indian Paintings; pp. 118-19.

63. Basawan : pls. 17,18,21,22,24,50,61,62,81; Lal : pls. 27,28,32, 42,43,44,54,76,92,102,106,107,108,109; Miskin : pls. 23, 45, 52,66,67,72,74,87,88,90,98,100,114(Akb;V.A.).

64. A History of ; p. 189.

tallent of one artist depended on the other; and consequently the individuality of one artist either submerged with the other or superseded the same. A good painter could produce better creations only when a tallented side-artist joined him. It would not be out of point to mention that Farrukh Beg's kamlack- style is quite distinct on plate 38, 96 and 117; on which he has worked independently but while assisted by a side painter Basawan, his individuality has fused.[65] Similarly Basawan's work remains distinct on plate 34, identical to the miniature represented on folio 34 in the <u>Darabnama</u> (B.M.), given in his name. Though in general the individuality has fused with common features; but this is equally true for the miniatures of the <u>Razm</u> (Jaipore); <u>Tarikh</u> (Patna) in particular and for other astray instances of joint-work in general.

Several artists were employed at the court to accomplish the great treasure of Mughal miniatures- a part of which is known to this day. Abul Fazl has mentioned a brief list of artists comprising of seventeen names[66] only due to the want of the space. Though he reckons that more than a hundred painters had attained the fame. Hundreds of the painters worked at the emperial <u>Karkhana</u>. After a survey of the Mughal miniatures, under the limited means 224 names[67] of the

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65. <u>The Court Painters of the Grand Moguls</u> by L. Binyon and Arnold; p. 45.

66. <u>Ain</u>; vol.I, p. 114.

67. Appendix no. 9.

artists have been noted who contributed their pictures and probably overlooked several. Artists belonged to different places. Among the artists Hindus were in greater number. Peoples from the lower castes - Kahar etc. were also raised to the status of an artist. It was the keen eye of an emperor which fell upon Daswanth - son of a pali-bearer[68] and noticed the tallent and handed over to Khwaja Abdus Samad; who proved himself able of the patronage and surpassed the skill of his contemporary painters. Besides the painters, design artists; gilders; line-drawers and pagers[69] were employed in the Karkhana.

A whole set-up of the Karkhana was organised which included daroghas[70] and clerks. The former laid the work of painters before Akbar who conferred awards according the excellence of workmanship, to encourage the artists. Further to develop the art of painting he made the commodities of paintings easily accessible and ordered to be sold on correct prices. It could attract the painters from the different corners of the country and to produce better creations. Artists were paid monthly salaries.[71] Abul Fazl has mentioned that many mansabdars, ahadis and other soldiers were appointed in this

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68. Ain; Vol. I; p. 114.
69. Ibid; p. 115.
70. Ibid; p. 113.
71. Ibid; p. 115.

department. It seems that under Akbar, no distinction was made between civil and military employees and the civil servants were paid according to their military ranks bestowed upon them. Consequently, the painters were given the rank of the mansabdars and ahadis and were paid accordingly and the pagers, line-drawers etc. holded the status of an ordinary soldiers.[72] The Ain refers that the salary of a foot-soldier varied from 600 dams to 1200 dams, which may be taken the lowest pay of a worker in the Karkhana.

Abul Fazl[73] has specially reckoned the tallent of Hindu artists. In his own word 'their pictures surpass our conception of things. Few, indeed, in the whole world are found equal to them". Hindu painters laid much emphasis on the representation of three-dimensions and excelled in the livelier representation of human character.[74] Basawan was a rival of Daswanth and has been referred in the Ain-i-Akbari just after him. Abul Fazl has mentioned that a few critics preferred Basawan. He excelled in the painting of background, the drawing of features, the distribution of colours and poraiture.[75] The Razmnama (Jaipore) miniatures are the examples of the contemporary works of both the artists : Daswanth and Basawan. They seem inspired by the

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72. Ibid.
73. Ibid; p. 114.
74. The Court Painters of the Grand Moguls; p. 45.
75. Ain; vol. I, p. 114.

Persian, Indian and European trends. Objects drawn from bird-eye-view, stylised foliage, tree-trunks represented in their natural form, lotus drawn in Indian tradition, crowded animation, propensity for profile faces, clouded sky casually drawn in dragon form, distant landscape depicted according the European perspective though not entirely identical, deep shaded lines are the similarities of their art. Basawan has shown greater inclination for profuse decoration in the scenes, heavy folds in the flowing costumes and thick shade which appear occasionally in Daswanth's miniatures - though his work represent greater sense of depth, and the background is mostly drawn with a hazy landscape. Elements of the Jainas art are also not wanting in the work of latter. On plate 71 the conical ends of the costume depicted in the central figure are reminiscent to the Jain style.

[76] Basawan has left a greater number of pictures in various illustrated manuscripts i.e. Anwar-i-suhaili; Razmnama (Jaipore); Tarikh-i-Khandan-i-Timuria (Patna); Akbarnama (V.A.) Darabnama (B.M.) and

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76. Basawan: Razm; pls. 7,10,12,14,21,22,34,39,40,50,53,54,64,65, 70,76,81,84,106,112,113,115,117,120,121,122,126,127,130,145 (Jaipore); Tarikh; ff. 4b,6b,7b,8b,9a,16b,17a,30a,53b,54a,57b, 58b,61b,62a(Patna); Anwar; f.5 (Varanasi); Akb; pls.17,18,21, 22,24,50,61,62,81(V.A.).
Alongside these pictures his work may be seen on the folios of Tutinama; Diwan of Anwar; Baharistan (Bodleian Library); Darabnama; folio 34a (B.M.Or. 5615). It is quite possible that Basawan was one of the illustrators of the Dastan-i-Amir Hamzah. Two miniatures attributed to Basawan are preserved in the Collection of Industrial Museum, Vienna; Note book Dastan-i-Amir Hamzah no. xi, figure 4 and 27). Encyclopedia of World Art; vol. II, p. 385, 387.



PLATE XII



PLATE XIII

Tuzuk-i-Baburi (V.A.). The greatest collection of his works has survived in the Razmnama (Jaipore); Tarikh-i-Khandan-i-Timuria (Patna) and Akbarnama (V.A.). The degree of vitality in the representation of human figures, violent action equally reported in the human and animal figures and rhythmic lines depicted in the art of Basawan; is hardly observed in the creations of Daswanth and other painters of the court. A few of his creations are superb for the display of the involvement of each part of body in one action (plate xii) and the whole action reported in a violent rhythm (plate xiii).

The Akbari illustrations are the representatives of the excellence of the later sixteenth century Mughal art. The present study has been taken up for a more extensive study of the art produced under Akbar. A good deal of work has been done towards the appreciation of the Mughal art recently and after such depth studies as have been already made by such renowned scholars as P.Brown, A.V.Smith, L.Binyon, Blochet, Dr. Moti Chandra, Dr. Promod Chandra, Dr. Rai Krishna Das, Dougles Barrett, Gray, L.Hazek, W.G.Archer, E.D. Havel, G.Solomon, A.K. Coomarswamy, Wilkinson etc. etc. hardly any scope is left for one to say anything new. Nevertheless the appreciation so far done has been from the artistic point of view. The wealth of the historical and technical data which these paintings have to offer remains still unexplored. Turning over the leaves of these albums one is struck with the persistent uniformity of forms

and shapes of the articles of use, arms, armours, weapons, methods of hunting, cultural interest and institutions which analysed and put together enable us to know of the medieval life more intimately. It is true that the experience undergone to these paintings remains for the most part limited to the life in the court of the whole society. Yet there is represented in them a certain degree of the level of medieval achievements. Nor the Mughal miniatures on the whole or even those of the time of Akbar are entirely bereft of the representations of the lower sections of society, the middle class men, the cultivators, artisans, traders, saints, entertainers and jugglers etc. In fact the illustrations of the well known dastans are extensive stores of information relating to the common man. To these books the artist was indebted in so far as he drew action for a seal. Depiction was entirely a different matter and here he turns for inspiration to his own experience of his present. The illustrations are not wanting in the direct representation of the lives of the common people. The author has given graphic descriptions of the customs and lives of the people as he happend to observe during various excursions. Some of these have been illustrated through miniatures and sketches in line drawing. The shepherd, the cultivator, the dancing girl, the musicians, the trader, the saints, the wood-cutter, the washerman, the mason and labourers, the water-carrier, the fisherman, the bird-trappers, the boatman, the royal attendants and the village girls- all form part of pictures. Fauna and flora of India are also depicted. The illustrations of the Tuzuk-i-Baburi display a distinct part for the representation of numerous birds,

animals, trees and plants . For their representation among the various Akbari manuscripts, the Tuzuk specially the copies of National Museum, Delhi and British Museum, London; may be taken as the richest collection. The illustrations help us to know of the utensils, musical-instruments, technological-gadgets, costumes, arms, armours and ensigns etc. used in those time. These are records which the historian of medieval society can ill afford to bypass. But for this purpose the detail studies need to be taken up. The miniatures have to be studied piece by piece and line by line. The forms have to be compared and information to be pieced together for obtaining conclusive authentic ideas. The present work is an humble step toward this object. The author is aware of its unsatisfactory nature. The limitations are too many and besides he wished to have been able to find excess to more collections.

The work is broadly divided into two parts dealing with the art and technique on the one hand and the historical aspect on the other. The first part concerns much less the aesthetic point of view. As enough has been done in this direction, though appreciation of art is a matter of personal taste and discriminative ability. Attention is therefore paid to the techniques involving in the art of drawing, expension of the Mughal Qalam and its contribution to the Indian art, traces of the synthesis of the Persian, Indian, European and Chinese traditions, perspective, colouring light and shade etc. A separate chapter is devoted to the treatment of themes. The decorative

patterns and designing form the subject of a distinct section. The second part is more analytical in character. The different cloths, garments and other wearables such as head-gear, jama, farji, peshwaz, gadar as well as ornamental wears; armours of soldiers and animals i.e. horse and elephant; arms wielded by the Mughals on the battle-field and outside, the fire-arms including cannons of different makes, hand-guns and gajnals etc; various musical-instruments played on the occasion of feast and festivities and on battle-fields, performance of the naqqarkhana ; various articles of use viz. different types of drinking glasses, bottles, wine-containers, trays, broths, candle-stick, perfume-pot's stand and the kitchen utensils comprising of cooking and serving pots; the implements of gardening and agriculture comprising a plough, a spade, a showel and a kudal; tools of a mason and carpenter etc; the means of irrigation- the most significant of which the Persian-wheel; means of water transport and road-journey and a few other technological-gadgets such as fountain and the manjaniq - a war machine employed to throw heavy stones etc. have been separately treated and illustrated through sketches. The sketches have been derived from the miniatures in order to make accessible the information scattered in hundreds of illuminated folios at hand. The correctness in their forms and designs is strictly observed, though the author owing to the perfectness of an artist's skill may be excused for a slip.

CHAPTER II

STYLE AND TECHNIQUE

Although following some of the modern scholars it is possible to draw a vague line between the early Mughal art that is the art of the period of Babur and Humayun which is often called as Indo-Persian tradition and the Mughal art understand to begin from the time of Akbar, the great margin of error that is likely to vitiate such an attempt can not be obviated except through very specialised, detailed, tabulated study. The best that can be done here would be to take account of the characteristic features of the style of the Akbari-illustrations without attempting any categorisation.

The artists of Akbar's court were drawn from different parts of the country as well as from Iran. Naturally the style that developed was eclectic of character drawing upon the best of the school of Bihzad as well as of the pre-Mughal Indian arts. At the same time there is evident a painstaking effort to break away from the Persian and contemporary regional styles, a fact very clearly observed in the representation of animal-figures, portraiture and landscape. There is a marked propensity towards naturalistic representation, though the measure of success is largely determined by the artist's association with their respective schools as well as by the commonly accepted conventions. Thus the Persian tradition makes itself emphatically felt in the aerial perspective with a deep blue sky, flat in tone, occasionally sprayed with a bird's flight or stars; in the

simultaneity of vision; bird-eye-view, sparsely grown springing trees; hills with a river or stream and animals shown perched on them, trees laden with flowers; figures imposed on one another, disposal of group of figures over a background of landscape with a very horizon line; representation of objects following a continously rising view point; even and bright colours; elaborate embellishment of costumes; in the use of lavish gold pigment and the Persian blue and crimson. A Mughal artist draws the inspiration from Iranian stylistic peculiarities accompanied by a very modest Indian tinge on the whole. The greater number of Hindus among the painters at the court of Akbar should have resulted in an encreasing Indianization of the Mughal art. Typical gestures of hands and faces introduced to characterise human figures; elongated-eyes, casually bulging; long, straight tree-trunks; dense-foliage of trees; water displayed by employing gig-gaz lines in white pigment on the grey surface with or without foams or a fish or two, straight or curled, but generally shown submerged in the water and half above it; crowded--animation; round lines; stylised form of leaves; mounds of earth and elephant figures - all these remind of the various native styles of art.

The fusion of Persian and Indian styles was achieved by native Indian painters[1] who saw and learned from imported Persian paintings,

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1. Indian Painting by Philip S. Rowson; p. 104.

also a few studied under the Persian masters at the court. The earliest example[2] of this fusion appears in the illustrated pages of the '*Nimatnamah*' the book of delicates[3] - a cookery book made probably about A.D. 1500 at the court of the Muslim ruler of Malwa.

Indian trees, birds, animals mounds of earth, rivers etc. etc. find their ways in the miniatures, though represented in the Persian style, gradually disclose a marked Indian style. Casually, the method of shading is employed after the Ajanta painting while the European technique also begins to show up in the deep and thick shading. The Mughal art, during Akbar's time experienced the influence of European art, the most significant of which is the introduction of European perspective. The artists added an importance to the background and aerial perspective to enliven the scene and to make the canvas broad. The flat sky painted in a narrow strip in plain blue or gold pigment is replaced by the background accommodating towns, castles, open-field, boats in a river, a hunting scene, distant hills and trees, a shephered or a farmer shown at work and lastly the sky represented in broader margin with floating clouds and varying in shades. A similar influence may be seen in the depiction of three dimensions and distance in the objects by reducing the scale as the eye moves forwards the horizon. The distant views of cities in digonal perspective and massed clumps of trees are directly derived from western examples.

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2. *Ibid*; p. 105.
3. MS. *Nimatnamah* : C.A. 1500; Indian Office Library, London.

The plastic roundness of form is represented by employing fine shading lines and folds. The draperies, hanging - curtains and the flowing costumes of ladies etc. are mostly painted with deep, shaded-strokes of brush. But traces of these are few and far in between. Attempts are also made to represent human beings in relief. However, the manner in which the European perspective is represented in the miniatures, seems followed without always being correctly understood.[4] The general methods reamin more or less conventional where uniformity of scale is allowed to persist irrespective of distance.

Interestingly, features of the Chinese art are not wanting in the paintings. One of it being the practice of combining the calligraphy with pictorial art comes from China through Iran where it had become common with manuscript-illustrations. The dragon and some of the motifs with elongated flame-like ends similarly point to the Chinese style. Apart from these there is a good deal in the paintings which may be called original: as for instance in the depiction of violent action, in the introduction of a variety of postures and moods in animal figures specially the deer - elements unobserved in any of the traditions referred to above. There is in these illustrations a richness, a sense of variety and a vividity of experience which distinguishes them from other contemporary arts and all these elements seem to get synthesized gradually to give rise to the art which has been called as the real Mughal Art, of the later period.

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4. Miniatures of Musical Inspiration, part I; by Ernest and Rose, p. 22.

A fact mentioned by authors[5] that after the selection of paper, a few sheets were pasted one on the other which provided a substantial thickness to the material seems limited to the miniatures done on loose sheets and portraits. The illustration represented in the different manuscripts are directly painted on single sheets and pasted[6] on the folios of the manuscripts. It is understandible as bounded manuscripts could not accommodate thicker sheets without losing their shape at the open side. The paper was smoothed with the help of a round agate before the sketch was drawn.[7]

On the smooth surface the artist would draw the sketch of the theme. The primary sketch was drawn in scanty, soft lines, suggesting the outer forms of figures. This rapid sketch was developed and correct lines were drawn on them with accuracy of form. These lines were harder than the primary lines. To erase the wrong and sperfluous lines a thin coat of white pigment was laid on the sheet. The correct lines were redrawn in dark pigment with a fine brush. This done, the colours were applied to the finish. It is difficult to examine the

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5. "Once the selection had been made, the chosen sheets were glued together, and the surface of the top one, on which the painting was to be executed, was smoothed and polished with agate". Indian Miniatures of the Moghul School" by Hajek Lubor; p.40 ;Indian Painting- The Heritage of India by P.Brown; p. 118.

6. It is so observed in the illustrated manuscripts viz.: Tuzuk (Delhi); Diwan (Rampur); Anwar (Varanasi) and Tarikh (Patna); accessible to us in original.

7. (It is so evident from an illustration represented on folio 242 (Anwar; Varanasi). The miniature represents a helper shown busy in rubbing the paper with an agate, though for the use of calligraphy. This may also betaken as a process of preparing the ground for painting) ;Indian Miniatures, p.40 ;Indian Painting; pp. 13-14; The Technique of Mughal Painting by Motichandra; p. 38.



PLATE XIV

pigment used in drawing sketches as the manuscripts under consideration contain no unfinished paintings. A few unfinished paintings can however be seen in the Moscow manuscript.[8] In these the lines are quite visible and show up against the surfaces treated with the first coat of white[9] pigment and in some intances against the next coat of the pigment used for background. Evidently the final sketch was drawn in dark pigment (plate xiv).

The pigments could be laid on the paper in varying methods i.e. flat or blending of colours. In the first type the colours are laid flat and no consideration is given to tonality. Different or contrasting colours are used for distinguishing one from other. The colours applied flatly reminiscent to the Persian paintings, is the primary state of making a use of tempra colours. The tempra colours as a matter of rule are used thick which form a lare on the paper. Pigments are painted one on the other when the base colour is finally dried up. The process of shading, final linings and lastly the use of gold pigment involved two to three or even more lares of pigments on a paper. The early illustrations of the Mughal artists, laid in flat colours are two dimentional in effect and lately with the introduction of three dimensions in the Mughal creations, this treatment of colours was replaced by the blending of colours though, the former technique

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8. See plates 20 - a pair of birds in the foliage of <u>chunar</u> tree; 25- an outline of a animal figure in the pile of hunted animal; 46- two human figures on the top middle and 56-outline of a bird sitting on hill top in the left of <u>taswir</u>.

9. <u>Ibid</u>; pls. 20 and 25.

remain survived in its changing modes to the last, as such it was the base of treating the tempra pigments. The shaded lines or dotts became handy to the artists to exhibit the solidity in the object.

As against this, the technique of blending of colours is casually found in the miniatures. It could emerge only in the treatment of a few subjects viz. sky, hills, tree-trunk, foliage of a tree and rarely in the foreground. In this technique, instead of treating a sketch with a first wash and laying the colours one on the other, here the objects are directly defined in the first treatment, with their tonality, light and shade, in providing a three-dimensional effect. The treatment involves the skill of handling brush employed to achieve the form in one stroke so as to define the dimensions directly. The colour is used thin in this technique. The floating clouds, gradual mixing of two varying shades, in a strip of the sky appear the first place of composition[10] for the use of blending of colours and latterly the hills, trees and foreground etc. etc.

Casually, hills or mounds of earth are represented in mass[11] exhibiting light and shade, solidity and height etc. by employing the latter technique. This process also produced newer and newer shades as the

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10. Akb; pls. 15, 48, 63, 73, 74, 85 (V.A.); Tarikh; ff. 7b, 26b, 230a (Patna). Razm; pl. 20 (Baroda); pls. 64, 65, 81, 100, 122, 136, 139, 141, 144 (Jaipore). Tuzuk; ff. 44a, 190a, 271a, 379a (B.M.).

11. Tarikh; ff. 48b, 55b (Patna); Tuzuk; pl. 8, 17, 19, 33, 34(Moscow).

wet pigments when merged in one another naturally, produced a new shade - a mixture of them. The artists favoured blending of colours in parts and we do not come across of any illustration done finally in this technique.

The treatment of pigments in the wash of a tinge was known to the Mughals though, rarely. The process involved first, the thin wash of a tinge on the paper's surface. The base when dried-up, is ready for brush-work. Subsequently, outline of the objects is drawn in colour to distinguish from the background. Other colours to be filled in the various objects viz. costumes, utensils, buildings etc. etc. are obtained from the gradations i.e. tint or shade of the ground colour; and thus the painting is finished in harmonised colour scheme. The tree-trunks, its foliage and sky etc. remain submerged in the background. Though the monotonous effect is winover by the artist who employs fine, shaded lines to represent the anatomy of figures, details in the objects and fineness in the forms and lastly, the three-dimensional effect. Casually, the white pigment or some other pigment of light tone slightly differing from the base is used in the costumes etc. The illustrations[12] displaying this technique are quite distinct from other and austere in appearance.

A few artists have established their originality by handling the pigments in a different way. The treatment of figures and use of

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12. Anwar, f. 201 (Varanasi).

47 (H)



PLATE XV

pigments have remained identical, only the method of presentation has varied. The illustration on folio 478a (Tuzuk; B.M.), by the artist Dhanraj; is submerged in the blue pigment with a tinge of green. The objects : sky, hillocks, fort, trees and the ground which build-up the composition are represented in the harmony of these two pigments. The technique involves the colouring of whole picture in one or two pigments. The figure of an emperor also appear dominated by these colours. His face represented in dark-complexion - a mixture of yellow and green with a tinge of blue, and jama in green pigment accumulate the effect of harmony. Other pigments yellow, crimson, orange and white are also used though sparsely, to display different objects separately. The propensity for blue and green colours shown by Dhanraj has survived in other illustration also, painted by him e.g. f. 305 (Ibid).

The most illustrious picture in this technique finds its place in the manuscript Anwar; Varanasi on folio 233. The whole scene is subdued in one colour - chrome yellow with a tinge of brown. The human figures, their costumes; animal figure of an ox; tree trunk; hills; water and the distant landscape comprising of buildings, mounds of earth - all have submerged in the background-colour. The details are also represented by employing the deeper shade of the same pigment. The shaded strokes employed on the bottoms of the figures, directed in a side - suggest the shadow and produce the depth in the picture. The illustration is quite distinct for its colour-treatment and the over-all-effect of one colour used to build-up the whole scene. It is the

skill of the painter, unfortunately whose name does not appear on the folio, who could manipulates the whole representation in one pigment. The strokes drawn are bold and directed horizontally (plate XV).

The marked tendency of representing the every minute details irrespective of distance and the principle of maximum visibility and lastly, the love for decoration fitted the best with the pigments laid flatly. The flat colours provided an easy approach for introducing the desings, and easily accommodated the gold pigment, laid invariably as a matter of course, flat. The floors, carpets, domes, costumes, arms and armours, utensils etc. etc. are represented with profuse decoration. As against this, the draperies, hanging-curtain etc. depicted in three dimensional effect achieved by applying thick shaded lines, are invariably shown plain. Similarly, the loose garments viz. the peshwaz of ladies, aba of traders etc. are left plain though the folds and curves are distinctly displayed by employing shaded lines. Hence the miniatures partly finished in the technique of colour - blending are austere comparitively than those done in flat colours.

In the objects painted in flat colours the effect of three-dimensions is achieved by introducing shade. The shading of figure is done in two stages. An original colour is spread on the surface first, then darker shades are applied. This can be done either on dry or wet surface. In the first instance the original pigment is allowed to dry up and shading is done through fine, small and close lines or sometimes through dots. These lines are drawn in different forms and angles, for instance curved or straight which may be laid digonally,

horizontally and vertically. In the miniatures these are visibly drawn by single strokes of brush. These are clearly visible in the treatment of tree-trunks; heaps of mounds; hillocks; uneven, grassy-ground; animal figures and architectural designs. Strokes are drawn according to the modelity of the object. Subsequently, the uniformity of the figure has survived to the last. The folds, knots, pits and bulges represented with tree-trunks; mounds of earth, figure of an elephant are the best examples of the strokes drawn in varying forms accommodating the natural shape of the object. Similarly, in the pillars shaded lines may be drawn round or circular in form to enhance the effect of roundness. The varying forms of the strokes depended on the method of wielding a brush.

In the second instance the shading pigment gradually mixes-up with the original pigment while still wet. The lines get diffused so as to leave no discermible traces of parting strokes between the lighted and the shaded portion. The process is followed in the technique of direct-blending of colours.

Usually, darker tones of the original colours are found applied for the purpose of shading objects. Shading by different colours of darker hue is also sometimes met with. Shading technique is also found employed in order to create contrast between the objects. It is also applied for distinguishing the figures from the background. The illustrations belonging to the manuscripts : *Tuzuk* (B.M.); *Akb* (V.A.) and (C.B.); *Razm* (Jaipore) are embellished with the finest

details of nature, designs and motifs. The *Tuzuk* (Moscow) and *Razm* (Baroda) are subtle in designs and motifs. The *Anwar* (Varanasi); *Diwan* (Rampur); *Tarikh* (Patna) and the *Tuzuk* (Delhi) find it place in between them.

The ground colours used are not necessarily of light tones but are lighter than those to be applied in the subsequent fillings. The artist does not find himself bound by any convention regarding the gradation of colours except that the first filling should not obtrude on those to be followed next, but serve as a suitable base for those to be superimposed. A dark tone at the base is therefore followed by a darker one. Evidently, the artist began with primary pigments and finished the work in darker shades of the same pigments.

In the use of the primary colours the artist betrays a lack of variety of tonality. His imagination is limited and the paintings suffer from repetitions of similar colour-schemes.

Outlines of individual figures is almost a dogma with the painters. It is the first as well as the final stage of his work and receives his utmost care. The painting is began with a sketch defining the limits of the objects within which is brush must move. After colouring and shading, these lines are finally confirmed in a darker tone and the figure is bounded into a well-defined form. At this stage the work of colouring the miniature is over and the pigments are left to dry-up.

For the choice of colours of natural objects the painters depend for

inspiration on nature itself. But in the colouration of designs and decorative motifs he allows himself a greater freedom and tries to bring out the best from his imagination. No particular norm is followed. Exquisiteness and decore is his aim here. The emerging patterns may be conceived in a variety of ways: matching or contrasting the general colour-scheme, gaudy, austere, flat or tonalised, displaying the maximum variety of colours-repetition of two or three colours or predominance of a particular colour.

A certain procedure is also not difficult to discern as having been generally adopted in the matter of colouring. Human figures being the main objects of representation are treated first and foremost. Animal figures come next and the background is coloured in the last. This only shows that the artist began the work of painting without any definite scheme in his mind. The colour of the next figure was determined by that of the previous one and these may or may not be in keeping with the first wash given to the background. When human and bird figures were completed, the background had to be treated patch by patch or part by part as required by the objects in the foreground.

Metallic powder : Gold dust is an important medium of the Mughal artist. Although gold was not regarded as colour , yet was frequently used in lavish quantities in single paintings in the way that the colours were used. Generally the powder is found used partially, as for instnace, to expose a particular part of a figure. It produced an extra-glaze in the illustrations. Ornaments, costumes, arms, armours and designs

are the common subjects redendered in gold dust. Casually, the gold pigment is employed to represent the aerial perspective. The sky could be depicted fully or partly in the gold pigment to announce the morning or evening time. Similarly the flames of fire and sun-rays are treated to apper natural.

The miniatures were pasted on the mounts by a wasligar (one who mounts the taswir, a book-binder). The mounts were prepared of an extra thickness by pasting two or three sheets of paper one on the other, to provide a substantial ground to the picture. The illustrations of the manuscripts are invariably pasted on the sheet of paper commonly used for calligraphy and no special mount or paste-board is provided for support.[13] Only in one instance, folios of the Diwan-i-Hafiz[14] are provided cut-mounts of an extra thickness embellished with floral motifs drawn in gold pigment. The miniatures were not separately bounded in the books but were pasted on the manuscript leaves at the appropriate place, i.e., along and in the textual sequence of events described. These leaves being thin were unsuitable for mounting the miniatures specially those made in tempra. As a result, the leaves used as mounts have got soiled with the material used for binding colours which is visible on the back side. Evidently, from the point of view of preservation of the paintings, this kind of mount was inadequate.

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13. The conclusion has been drawn after examining the illustrated Mss. available to us e.g. The Tuzuk (Delhi); Anwar (Varanasi); Diwan (Rampur) and Tarikh (Patna).

14. Appendix no. 3.

Margins are decorated with floral designs or plainly closed by employing several bands of lines in varying pigments. Only the miniatures of the Tuzuk (Moscow) are without any close of bands of lines or hashyias.

The paintings generally bear the name of the artists. Many of the names appear on the lower hashyia showing that they were written by by different person, probably a naqshanavis, after the pasting of the mount. The tradition of signing the work was not in vogue at the Mughal court. Though the names appearing on the illustrations themselves may be the artist's autographs. Rarely, one miniature signed by the artist Lal comes to our view on folio 6b (Akb. C.B.).[15] Anyway, the practice of signing one's own creation does not seem to have been common. The paintings of the Tuzuk (Moscow) at all do not display the name of artists.

The Arabic word Amal is used for 'execution' or Rang-amezi - the Persian term for colouring. The sketch has been distinguished from the colouring or painting. Tarah is used for outline or sketch-drawing. In case when Amal stands alone, it employs execution of the

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15. The folio 27b of the same manuscript exhibits the name-Kishan das, in the right hand of picture; and the inscription of the hashyia reads amal Lal. The significance of the former name remains to be ascertained. However, we do not come across this name as artist.

picture by a single artist. In the Razmnama (Jaipore) the term Rang - amezi is preferred for colouring.

Occasionally, the names of two artists on a single painting are met. In the joint-works - the sketch and colouring are done by two different artist e.g. on plate 21 (Akb. V.A.); outline by Basawan, painting by Chatur.[16] We come across of many examples of joint-works in the manuscripts: Akbarnama (V.A.); Razmnama (Jaipore) and Tarikh-i-Khandan-i-Timuriya (Patna). Casually, three artists have worked on a picture - still further the number of collaborators in one work could be four even. The plate I (Akb; V.A.) represents - outline by Miskin; colouring by Sarwan; the faces (Chihra-nami) by an artist whose name is not clear and the figures (Surat) by Madho. Generally the work has been distributed in three parts viz. outline, painting and face-drawing. For the last the Persian term - Chehranami is used. Sometimes two artists worked to finish the face-drawings in one picture. The inscription on folio 32b (Akb; C.B.) shows three names of the artists : Amal Farrukh, Chehranami Manohar and Anant. It is not clear how such a complicated arrangement was worked. The method of joint-work involved mostly two artists - one for sketch and the other for colouring; or one did the sketch and colouring and the next finished the face-drawings. The Mughal artists seem accustomed of this type of mechanisation of division of labour and the system was in vogue in the middling years of Akbar's reign. The illsutrated manuscript of Razm

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16. See appendices - 1, 4 and 5.

(Jaipore) dated 1582 A.D., represents the joint-works very commonly.[17] The similar case is with the Akb. (V.A.) and Tarikh. (Patna); which belonged to the ending years of the reign.[18] Though, it was not a universal system of work for the illustrations executed earlier or in the intervening period. The Anwar (Varanasi); dated - A.D. 1596-97; and Tuzuk. (Delhi); dated - A.D. 1599; mostly represent the single name on an artist on one miniature.[19]

One is inclined to think that in this system of division of labour the skill of the painter should have tended towards the delimitation. The tallent of an artist depended on the side-artist. The work of sketching and colouring are complementary to one another. The artist Basawan[20] who is mostly assisted in his works by a side artist, has produced better pictures, only when a good painter worked on his side. Further there was nothing like the specialization of a particular branch of art e.i. sketching or colouring. An artist engaged for outline-work on one illustration is seen employed as a side artist for colouring also.

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17. Appendix - 4.
18. Appendices - 1 and 5.
19. Appendix - 6.
20. Tarikh; ff. 4b, 6b, 7b, 9a, 16b, 17a, 30a, 53b, 54a, 57b, 58b, 61b, 62a, (Patna); Razm; pls. 10, 21, 22, 50, 59, 64, 65, 76, 112, 115, 117, 120, 121, 122, 124, 126, 127 (Jaipore); Akb; pls. 17, 18, 21, 24, 24, 50, 61, 62 (V.A.).
(He worked as a side-artist on plates: 12, 39, 40, 53, 84, 106, 113, 145 (Razm; Jaipore); Tarikh; f. 8b (Patna); Akb; pl. 81 (V.A.).

One wishes very much to be able to mark out the special features of the art of the different masters, a task to difficult to accomplish with the present means of investigation. More so, as their common features predominate the paintings, rendering such points as may seem to be individualistic of character, insufficient for any conclusive argumentation. All the artists use the same tools. Despite the hetrogeniety found in colour-schemes, the colour-media and the method of their application remains the same. Formula - forms, standardised proportions, lines and curves and above all the method of bringing out the effects of distance, perspective, foreshortening, all persist so unchangingly throughout that to a crusory viewer the paintings could well have been the work of a few artists. The themetic variety that is characteristic of all such illustrative works, leaves little scope for consistency in expression. Painting now a battle scene, now a court scene, now a hunting scene, or at another time a garden or a bird catcher at work etc. etc., the artist goes on changing the modes of expression. The objective unity is thus lost or get mixed up with the commoner features. Besides it, the system of joint-work of two or more artists on a sinle folio has submerged the identities of individuals.

That the elements of individuality was not entirely wanting in the artists, is evidenced by examining some of the illustrations by Dhanraj, Paras, Shankar, Farrukh Beg etc. etc. The former shows a noticeable skill in the horizontally curved lines which are used with great clearity and boldness for shading the mounds and tree-trunks.

He displays propensity for the blue and green colours which are skillfully manipulated to achieve particular atmosphere.[21] Paras[22] seems to specialise in the use of straight lines. These are laid both horizontally and vertically for bringing out the shaded portions of background and costume-folds. War scenes and congregational settings in light colours seem to be the speciality of him.

Shankar[23] is a skilled designed artist, his paintings stand out for decoration and compactness. Shankar Gujrati is fond of lemon yellow with a tinge of light orange. His creations have a soothing effect and an import of delicacy.[24] The artist Dhanno[25] specialises in the depiction of garden scenes.

The illustrations done by Farrukh Beg[26] - an artsit of Qalmuck origin; have entirely Persian school effect in its feeling and atmosphere. The drawings of human and animal figures, designs displayed on costumes, buildings and ensigns etc; the depiction of hills and trees — all associates the Persian style.

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21. Tuzuk; ff. 204, 305, 478 (B.M.).
22. Ibid; ff. 54, 194, 299.
23. Ibid; f. 252.
24. Ibid; ff. 279, 314, 391, 395.
25. Ibid; f. 173.
26. Akb; pls. 96, 117 (V.A.).

Perspective

The illustrative character of the miniatures introduce a great thematic variety. As we turn over its pages we see a panorama of objects: the sky, mountains, rivers, trees, buildings, men and animals, all depicted in different moods, actions and planes. In the manipulation of the themes the attention of the artist is concentrated mainly on achieving aesthetic satisfaction. The ornamental designs and motifs complementing the main figures are used as additional means to obtain that effect. Hence the bias for details which are carefully rendered in uniform size, irrespective of distance or height giving the impression of a stylised technique. Perspective, as a dimensional expansion of objects does not seem to have been properly understood. The horizontal extension of the view has given place to vertical elevation. The effect of the flat upward projection of objects is further deepened by the absence of atmosphere, light and shade.

It may be said then, that the method of the treatment of lines, forms and colours which go to build up a perspective is either not known to the painters or is deliberately avoided in favour of graphic, wholesome representation of the objects. This is most clearly observed in their treatment of such inanimate objects as minerates, floors, buildings, hills etc. all of which are depicted without consideration being given to the rule of the convergence of lines or their vanishing distance. That, we do casually find a greatly diminished hill or a tree introduced to symbolise distance, is a fact

that evidences the lack of a correct understanding of the phenomenon on their part. The intervening space which is shown flat and uneffected by the visual change taking place with the increase of distance, makes these objects look just arbitrary.

The same is true about their understanding of the principle of eye-level. The figures are juxtaposed at different levels. The plane remains vertical. The objects are depicted in an ascending sequence signifying increase in distance, which effect is further enhanced by the application of soft and hard colours alternately. The objects drawn on different planes, imposed one upon the another is identical to the Persian _Qalam_. Various planes are employed to divide the composition in several parts to represent different events taking place at one time or the events specifically related to the central theme. One is tempted to think that such divisions are not incidental but have been deliberately introduced as additional devices for producing the effect of height and distance. The horizontal plane is depicted by human and animal figures. Height is represented by the sky. The hills symbolise distance while the buildings and trees produced the effect of vertical plane.

Planes could be distinguished by introducing a hillock, or a castle, or a mound of earth or sparsely grown trees, tufts of grass or springing plants, a stream or a river; and in the indoor or camp scene a carpet or palace-wall etc. in between them. Tanks, floors, carpets and _shamyianas_ are drawn flat so as to have the top-view before the eye. Men animals, birds, trees, buildings, utensils etc. are drawn

from the direct - view. The absence of unity in the perspective; or the presence of multiple perspective-convergent and divergent etc. have resulted in the enhancement of the tilting effect. The restricted tonality in colour also gave a tilting effect.

Casual examples of distant - landscapes are also met with. The objects treated are generally buildings, a castle visible from a hunting or battle-field or a expedition scene, as well as trees and hills. The representation of hills with springing trees, animals shown perched on them and the trees laden with flowers and green foliage is according to the Persian tradition. Here no particular scale seems to have been used for determining sizes. Details become sharper but do not disappear. Colours fade but not sufficiently. However in a few instance[27] the distant landscape has been shown hazy in colours, submerged in the background. The tree or a hill appear in a patch of grey, greenish or bluish pigment. The scale too has diminished and the details have disappeared. But this representation of the objects in far distance, instead of serving as perspective, seem to divide the painting in two distinct parts. As the portion immediately before the eye is rendered in flat colours, leaving little scope for the use of the usual means of depicting distance or

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27. Akb; pls. 78, 81, 87, 105, 106 (V.A.); ff. 122b, 123, 188 (C.B.); Tarikh; ff. 12a, 48b, 55b, 67b, 89b, 126b, 144b, 157b, 226a, 322a, 323a, 328b, 337b (Patna); Razm; pls. 14, 20 (Baroda); pls. 30, 123, 124, 142 (Jaipore); Tuzuk; pls. 5, 8, 9, 13, 16, 17, 19, 27, 30, 32, 34, 36, 53, 65 (Moscow); ff. 23, 128, 190, 191, 305, 347, 368, 452, 468, 504, 522 (B.M.).

depth. Thus the intervening space remains uneffected of the visual change taking place with the increase of distance. This is however, compensated by introducing tonality in the representation of distant landscape and the sky. It may be said then, that the artists were not unware of the principles governing the visuality of objects at hand and at distance, though the application of these principles in art was not quite clear to them. In a few paintings, distant objects are shown shorter than those in the foreground, but the diminution is too slight to correspond the distance shown. Moreover the decrease in size of an objects at the same level is not proportional. Gradual fading of colours may be found applied for building of perspective but the effect is to a considerable degree neutralised by the presence of details at all levels.

The light-effect is invariably flat. All the objects are shown bathed in the light from all the sides. In the night scenes[28] also the pigments employed in the objects and landscapes are not different from those represented in the day scenes. The pigments hardly help us to distinguish the time or weather. However, an Akbari painter was not quite unaware of the aerial-perspective. To depict the same he is assisted by the representation of sky. Getting away from the strict Persian convention, he painted the sky in varying colours viz. orange,

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28. Tarikh; ff. 5b, 45a, 246b (Patna); Razm; pl. 11 (Baroda); pls. 32, 67 (Jaipore); Tuzuk; f. 314a (B.M.).

red, yellow etc. etc. to announce the morning or evening time. The sun could be introduced to declare the bright day and as against this a crescent or a full moon with a starlit sky to depict the moon-light. Though the rest of the scene remains uneffected and the introduction of a sun, or a moon or a starlit sky or the flight of birds continue as symbols.

Linear perspective has become practically difficult with the introduction of several planes in one picture; and the drawings of different objects from varying views and angles. The position of an artist's eye is invariably shown changing. The convergence of angles is rarely represented in a few buildings etc. Broadly speaking this principle hardly involves in their depiction. The effect of perspective has also suffered on account of the flat treatment of colours.

In the indoor-scenes and in outdoor scenes also the ground is sprigged with plants with flowers composed alternately on a measured distance. As against this, the ground in the hunting, battle and expedition scenes, is represented with the variation of gradations in pigments which gives a suggestion of scale-perspective. This produces[29] almost the effect that picture itself is alive or rather that the onlooker himself in motion experiencing the phases of the picture as a sequence in time.

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29. Philp, S. Rowson; p. 111.

For producing three-dimentional effect the artist employ the common technique of exposing roundness and solidity of the parts of the figures. This is done by shading the outlines and rendering the space in between them in light colours. This is easily discernible in the treatment of pillars, costume-folds, human and animal figures, utensils and tree-trunks etc.

Shadow is not depicted by the artists. Figures are distinguished from the background by shading the pigment around them. Adjacent figures are distinguished by variation in costume design and colours, as well as by deepening of the outlines. In group paintings, each figure is treated independently as a complete object in itself which is linked to the rest of the canvas by the logic of the event illustrated rather than by any specific scheme of light and shade, atmosphere or time. There is no one focal point. Each figure seems to invite the eye to the exclusion of the other and the cumulative effect of a painting rests largely in the theme depicted rather than on any technical unity.

The paintings exhibit a peculiar lack of proportion among natural objects when presented in a single scene. Not unfrequently we meet trees of the size of small plants and human beings, towering forts and buildings. Some of such improportionate objects seem to have been painted in order to fill up blank spaces. Evidently figures so included had to be reduced or enlarged according to the extent of the blank to be filled in. Figures on the margin are often shown incomplete or covered by the <u>hashyia</u>. Most probably, it was done so deliberately to suggest the continuity in the scene.

CHAPTER III

TREATMENT OF THEMES

The great variety of themes depicted in the illustration are, in essence, elaborations of the various events of the emperor's life, expanded. So as to include a number of objects to complement the central figure of the emperor. Animals, hills and trees are introduced to intensify the landscape, camp auxiliaries, lay men and buildings to specify the situation; while attendants, the royal insignia, the decorative objects and the like follow as a matter of course to complete the environment where the action takes place.

In many of the miniatures the figure of the emperor does not appear at all, yet the very association of his personality in the mind of the artist seems to go a long way in retaining the mode of treatment experienced in such themes as are depicted under the impress of his dignified personality. The prosaic decore of the court scenes, the air surrounding the martial life of an adventurous emperor, the seriousness and solemnity accompanying the behaviour of the courtiers, all persist as the invetiable regulation of the court painter's profession. There are hardly any occasions for lips to open in smiles, nor is gaiety to gay. It seems as though even happiness is disciplined in the mannerism and etiquette of the court.

It seems the marked tendency of the painter to employ the objects directly related to the theme in the greater number. For instance while representing a hunt, he would hardly like to spare a blank space and the different animals will be drawn by him crammed in a place.

Similarly, the picture representing musical performance will show the greater number of musical instruments and a feast scene will accommodate the greater variety of utensils and so on. The tendency of emphasing the objects especifically connected with the idea persists in the expedition scenes also i.e. war scene, camps, etc. etc.

Cavalry, the main force of the Mughals is represented on numerous folios to build up the whole picture of a battle ground etc. Elephants employed casually appear here and their with hardly any evidence of the side on which they might have been employed. The army is shown well armoured while taking the field and that include those charged with such auxiliary assignments as beating up the drums, driving the elephants and carrying of royal insiginia. An artist while showing the scenes of frays does not seem to make any distinction between the arms and armours of those of his opponents in or outside India. The designs on the uniforms of the army men viz: Rajput, Afghan or Central Asian, are similarly treated.

The drum beaters, insignia holders form the background of the illustrations. Rarely, the royal ladies represented on the battle ground in the distant corner watched the scene from the imaris mounted on elephant's back. The illustrations depicting the themes of war and various battle grounds taken by the emperor or his army generals are greatest in number. One come across of a certain amount of similarity in them. There are all composed on more or less similar lines allowing for variety only in the juxtoposition of figures, or the directions in which the contents are placed. Infact, is is possible to inter-

change their blurbs specifying the location of the battles without the loss of relevence. Nevertheless the imaginative artist does not seem to be wanting in the art of permuting the contents of similar paintings. Normally the emperor's figure is given in the centre or atleast at a prominent spot. His figure is sought to be brought out further by leaving some open space around him. The attendants, courtiers and soldiers are lined up or clustered around in groups depending upon the text of the themes. A separate corner is left for the bearers of the royal insignia. These are the essentials of the majority of paintings. The rest of the space is filled up with other animals or inanimate objects relevant to a situation. A large portion of an open land sparsely over grown with trees, precipice, hillock, a farmer or a shephered in the background, a part of a stream preferably with ducks swimming in it, a row of birds in a distant corner and a strip of the sky are the concomitants of an expedition scene. When a battle is shown the scene is naturally saturated with action while open space precipices and birds etc.; are either omitted for want of room or relevance or they appear very casual. Simultaneity of vision and profusion of architectural objects are necessarily used in a variety of scenes such as besieging of a fort, assaults in and outside the walls of a city. Camp scenes are often composed with the distant background of domes and parapets of the near by town. The emperor's camp occupies the largest space in the composition and is provided with Qanats. The emperor is shown busy in directing the generals; or examining the war-botty, the war-prisoners or the heads of rebellions; or meeting some ambessador or a prince and so on. The stable of camels, horses etc. form the background of such themes along with



PLATE XVI

other objects of nature.[1] In a few instances stable servants are represented at work in the background of the picture. Sometimes a river with boats or castle or buildings are employed to build up the distant view.[2]

In a few instances, the representation of various chores in a camp come to our view. On folio 205 (Tuzuk; Delhi), Babur is shown visiting the camp which includes the camp-market displaying a shop-keeper weighing the article on the demand of the customer. Though such objects remain subsidiary (plate xvi). In the present example the central figure of the emperor, followed by the guards, dominates the whole view. The night in a camp depicted on plate 67 (Razm; Jaipore) is represented by displaying nobles sleeping inside the camps and watchmen on their duties with torches in their hands.

Court scenes in general display the emperor seated in a throne placed on a raised plateform, commonly in a side, or on a prominent place in the composition. Both the wings i.e. right and left are occupied by nobles and others and the extreme margins by the attendants etc. The insignia holders took their position in a side, close to the emperor. The emperor is generally represented receiving ambassadors,

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1. Tarikh; f. 116b (Patna); Tuzuk; f. 163 (B.M.).

2. Akb; ff. 157b, 201, 226b, 248 (C.B.); pls. 22, 31, 38, 41, 48, 53, 60, 61, 65, 75, 81, 84, 85, 87, 98, 100, 103, 108, 109(V.A.); Diwan; f. 147 (Rampur); Tarikh; ff. 46b, 48a, 54b, 57b, 65b, 67b, 89b, 101a, 129a, 144b, 157b, 226a, 230a, 269a, 322a, 332a, 328b, 337b (Patna). Razm; pls. 26, 33, 75, 93, 94, 100, 123, 133, 140, 142 (Jaipore); pl. 7 (Baroda).

nobles, a prince, issuing the orders, examining the war-botty, hearing the State-affairs and casually enjoying jugglers[3] or musical performance[4]. The scenes naturally accommodate the background of architectural designs. The carpet embellished with interlacing floral motifs, floors decorated with geometrical patterns, the lattice of windows, ornamentation of king's seat, richly designed costumes, decorum of the court persist common. The embellishment of the former two has attracted the most to the artists and seem an unavoidable parts of a indoor-theme.

The hunting-themes seem handy to the Mughal painters. Keen observation of nature, vivid portrayal of the animal life, violent action reported in the human and animal figures, variety of postures, minute depiction of details and the natural surroundings characterise the hunting scenes. Mostly, the scenes are crammed of animals belonging to different species at one place in a Qamargaha - a hunting circle[5]. Animals frightened of the hunters are represented flying to save their lives. Among the animals the deer specially the black-buck has fascinated the painters most and it has been sparingly depicted in the outdoor scene[6]. The illustration representing Akbar hunting wild-asses is differently treated. A few number

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3. Akb; pl. 79(V.A.); Diwan; f. 247(Rampur); Tarikh. ff. 20a, 90a, 205b (Patna). Razm; pls. 12, 39 (Jaipore).
4. Akb; pls. 55, 56 (V.A.); Tarikh; f. 42b (Patna).
5. Akb; pls. 55, 56 (V.A.); Tarikh; f. 42b (Patna).
6. Tarikh; f. 331a (Patna).

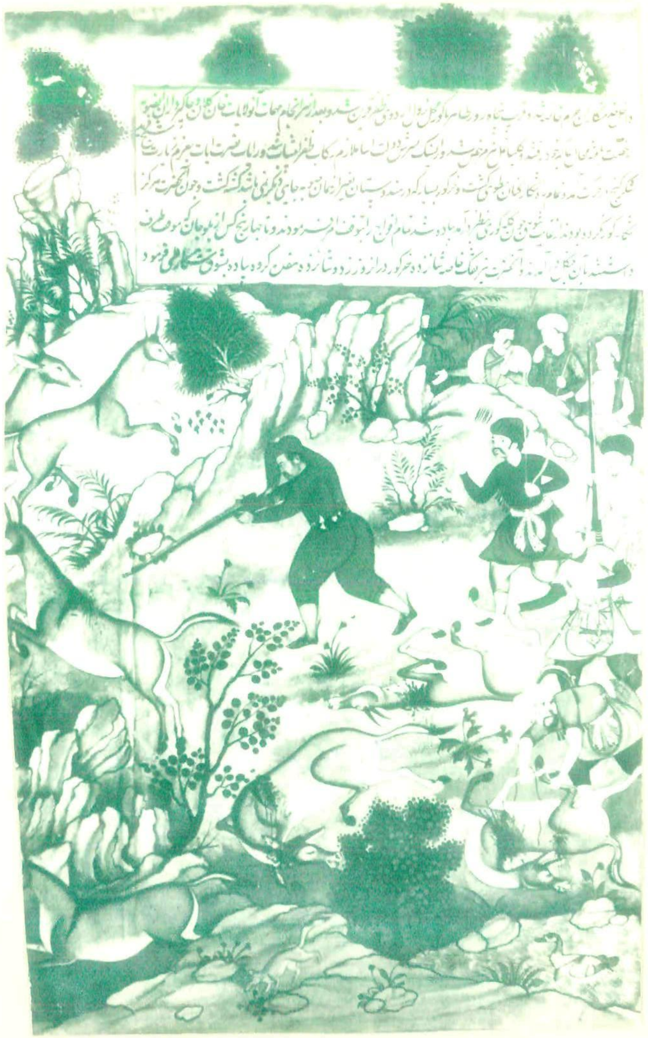


PLATE XVII

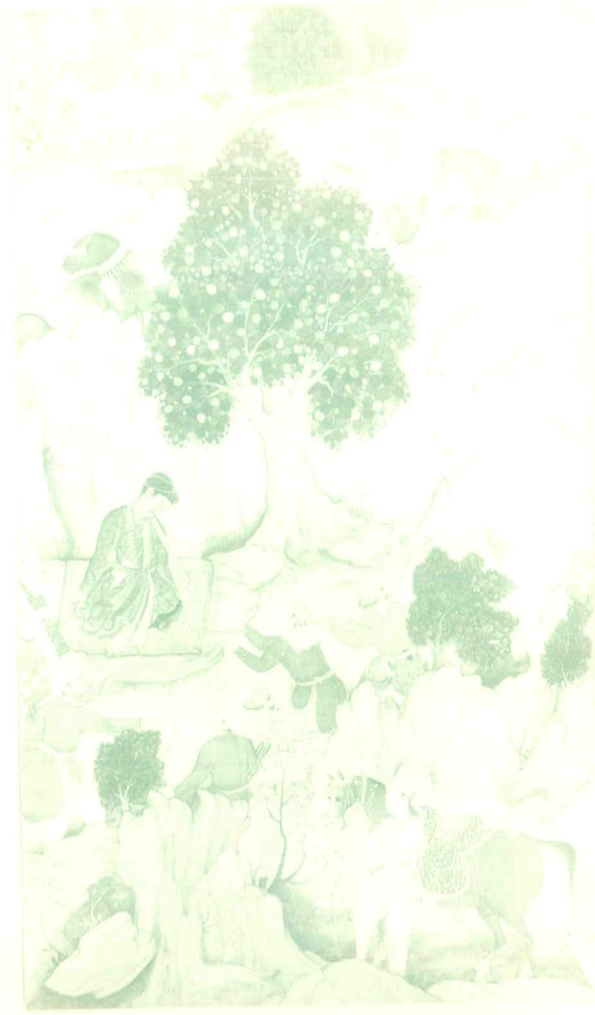


PLATE XVIII

of the animals belonging to one group are composed leaving ample space for their escape and other objects to be drawn (plate xvii).

Similar theme with a slight variation represented on plate 84 (Akb; V.A.), displays Akbar sitting under a shady tree after being exhausted of hunting. The hunted animals are shown lying in the hunting ground at a distance and a few those escaped are flying for safety. The sitting posture of Akbar with an inclined head on the right shoulder, attendants and nobles taking care of him and lastly, the royal-attendant holding the horse waiting for his master assimilate the pensive effect of the theme (plate xvii).

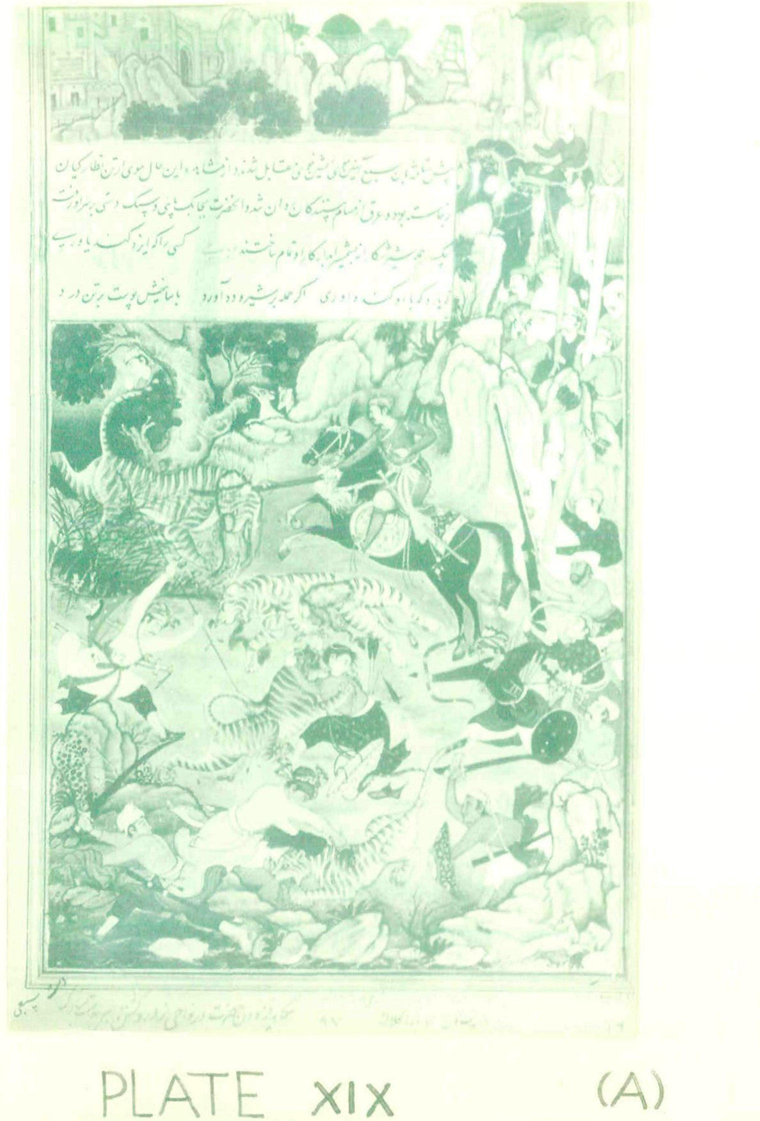
In the hunting scenes an artist is assisted by the sparesly setting of hills, trees and springing plants, the uneven ground and casually a stream or a hill river. Hunting themes are the records of emperor's bravery who is always drawn in the centre mounting on a horse or rarely on foot; and casually on a side followed by nobles and attendants.

The hunting scenes also partake in the background or on margins in the expedition scenes.[7] Only in one instance figure of a horse-rider chasing flying deers forms the background of an illustration. In other instances[8] deers are shown chased by horse-riders etc; on the

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7. Akb; pl. 105 (V.A.).
8. Tarikh; f. 46b (Patna).

PLATE XIX



(A)



(B)

lower margin though rest of the scene remains uneffected of the event taking place.

The scenes represented on plate 17 (*Akb*; V.A.) and folio 283b (*Tuzuk*; B.M.) may be taken as the best example of depicting the hunting theme. The former, sketched by Basawan artist show the emperor making a sharp blow of sword on the neck of a tiger - drawn resisting the same in anger and revengeful, furious temprament. Others are engaged violently in killing the tigers by employing a spear; or an arrow; or a sword; or a *jamdhar*. An attendant is also shown wielding a gun. The representation of the romance of hunting- in the central figure, fear of the wild life- in the figure shown escaping, in the lower margin and the struggle for life - in the figures shown in the closed grip of the beast, all evident the supremacy of the Mughal painters and their skill of capturing the tempraments and reporting the rhythm by employing a few lines (plate xix-A). The supplement of the same theme depicted on plate 18 of the same manuscript represent the continuity of the haunt. In it over-all effect remains the same (plate xix-B).

A double-page-illustration from the *Tuzuk* (B.M.) on folios 283b and 284a drawn by the artists - Manohar and Abdullah respectively;

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7. *Akb*; pl. 105 (V.A.).
8. *Tarikh*; f. 46b (Patna).

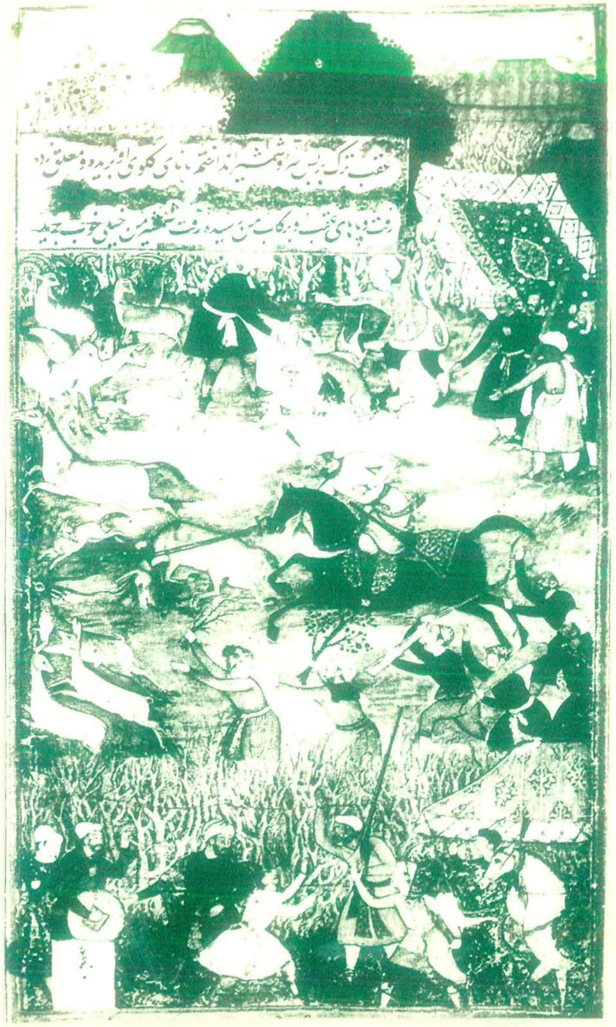




PLATE XX

(A)

(B)

represents the Qamargaha made of tree-trunks and branches and guarded by the attendants and commoners etc. (plate xx - A and B). It has displayed the hunt of deers and nilagau etc; commoners engaged in driving the animals within the approach of the central - figure, the emperor making a blow on animal's neck, attendants managing the hunted animals, a few men witnessing the seen and over and above animal-figures drawn in confused state, escaping for safety - all combine the common contents of a hunting theme, illustrated on folio 283b (ibid). The central-figure is drawn so as to dominate the whole scene. The second part of the illustration on folio 284a (ibid) completes the hunting-circle crammed of wild life as is the characteristic of the Mughal miniatures. In an attempt to produce the maximum number of the animals artist composes them irrespective of their size. Qamargaha scenes are depicted so as to include as many animals of hunt as possible in one place.

An identical composition of a deer's hunt in a circle - Kamargaha, on folio 42b (Tarikh; Patna); an unsigned miniature has vividly described different weapons employed for hunt e.i. the sword, bow and arrow, spear, handgun, a thick stick mounted with iron-rings at the end- a type of an ordinary mace, long sticks provided with net-bags and the end to trap the animal's horns; and various works being performed by men including the central figure of an emperor making a sharp blow of the sword, nobles and others wielding their weapons and hunting the animals, attendants engaged in driving the animals to the hunting spot, a few managing the hunted animals and



PLATE XXI

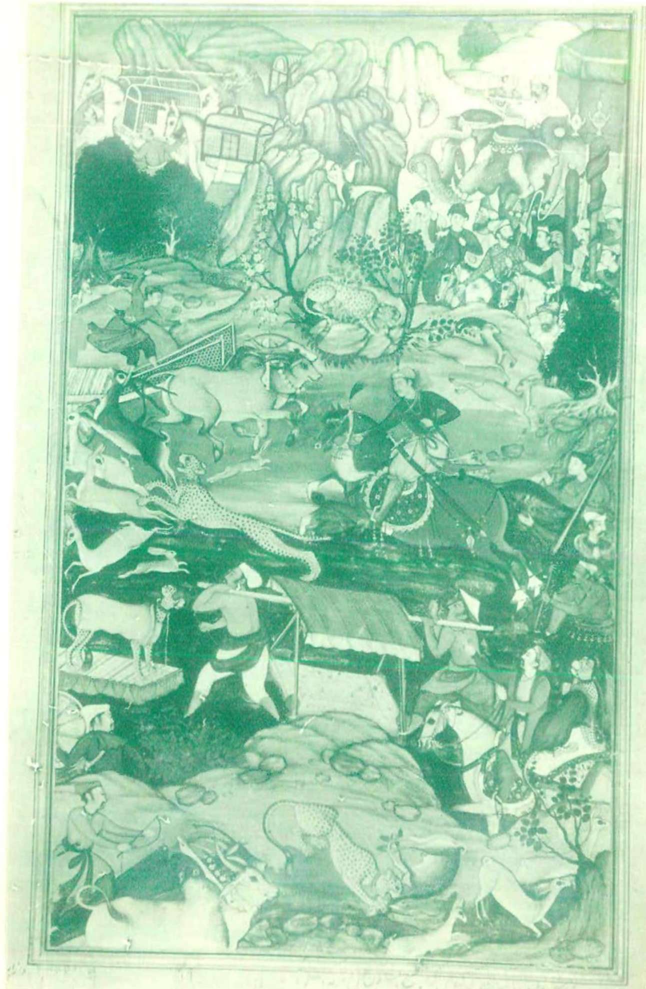


PLATE XXII



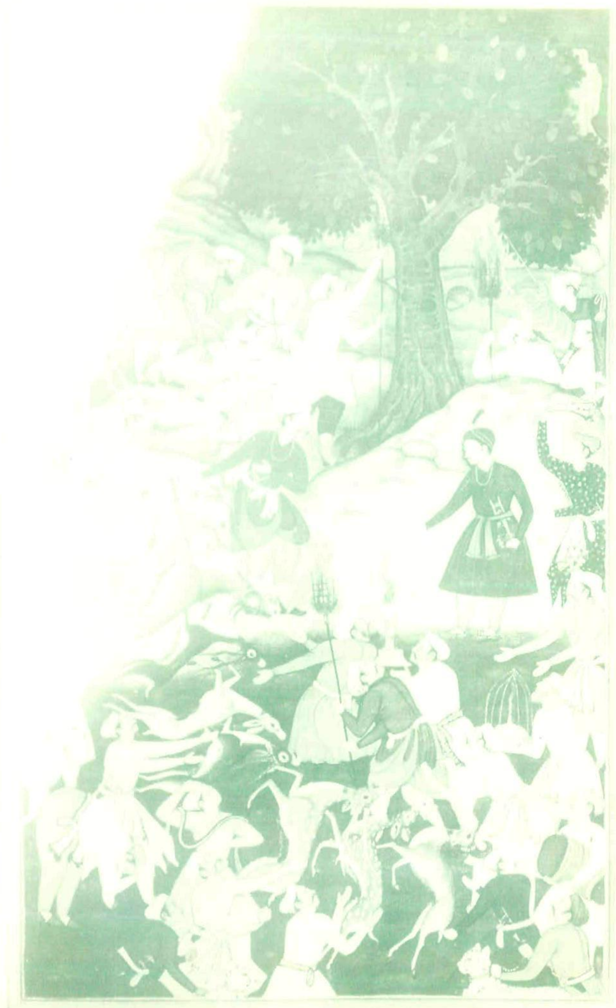


PLATE XXIII (A) (B)

watching the scene. The vivid portrayal of action in the human and animal figures; animals escaping to save their lives in confused state; uneven, grassy ground with hillocks and the background comprising the stable servants giving fodder to the animals of [illegible] - all assist the painter in building - up a picture (plate xxi).

Deer's haunt by employing the tigers - tamed and trained for the purpose; is the subject of a few hunting scenes represented in the Akb. (V.A.) on plate 24 and 92-93. The tigers laden on bullock - cart or in a palki - supported on a beam and carried by two men; brought in the hunting-ground[9] are left loose to chase the deers (plate xxii and xxiii). Hunting by tigers was a game to which the emperor enjoyed on the spot. Plates 24 and 92 (ibid) represent Akbar mounting on horse back watching the scene and instigating the tiger (pl. 24 ibid) to run-over the leaping deers. The deers and rams running vigorously, tigers shown taking a position for a chase or leap or killing the catched animal and the attendants rushing to the spot to manage the hunted animals - all make the representation living. The uneven ground, sparingly grown trees, plants, hills and casually a hill river (pl. 92 ibid) provide the natural surroundings to a hunting spot. Mostly, in the hunting scenes an effort is made to show the use of all the weapons, employed for the purpose. Vividity is introduced by showing all the actions in the scene,[10] for instance king

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9. Akb; f. 155b (C.B.); pls. 15, 24, 92 (V.A.).

10. Akb; pls. 17,18,24,55,56,92,93(V.A.); Tarikh; f. 42b(Patna).



PLATE XXV

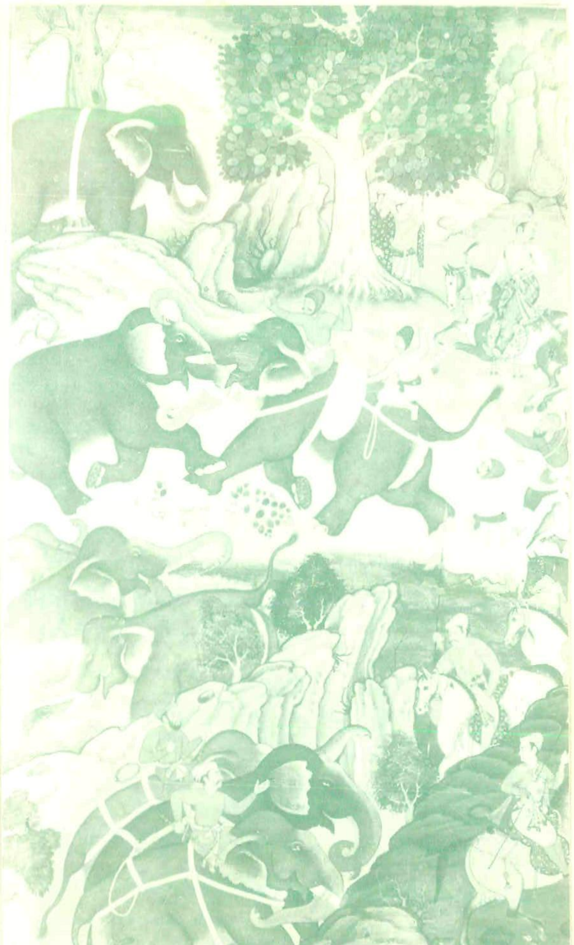


PLATE XXIV

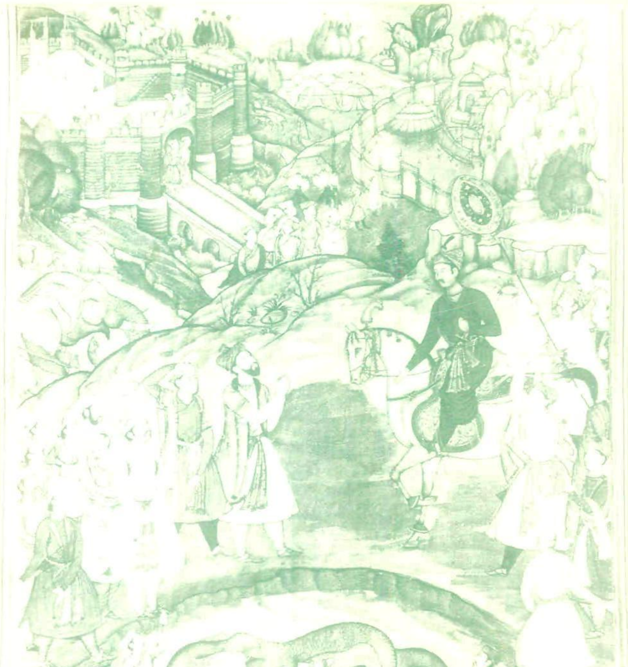


PLATE XXVI

lending a blow, a couple of attendants slaughtering the hunted animal, some wielding the gun and yet some busy trapping other animals.

Trapping of the wild-elephants or tigers and deers is the other theme[11] of a few illustrations depicting wild life (pls. 39 and 40 Akb; V.A.). Figure of the emperor appears on the margin on both the plates as matter of course. In the latter example, the composition is full of elephant figures and the centre is occupied by a tame elephant shown engaged in a combat with wild one (plate xxiv). The background is treated all alike the other hunting scenes and the method of encircling the central figure - a characteristic of the Akbari illustrations, has also survived. The same is true of the former example (plate xx). The miniatures representing the trapping of birds have been discussed at some length in this chapter.

The themes depicting the animal fights[12] may be taken as a part of animal's representation and also a source of amusement. Generally, the elephants, deers specially the black-buck and rams are trained for combat. The rare representation of the first on plate 81 (Akb; V.A.) shows the combat on the outer skirt of the city. The central figures of elephants drawn in the lower part are again encircled by human figures keeping the emperor's position in the middle (plate xxvi).

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11. Akb; pls. 34, 40 (V.A.).

12. Akb; pl. 81 (V.A.). Tuzuk; pl. 38 (Moscow).



PLATE XXVII

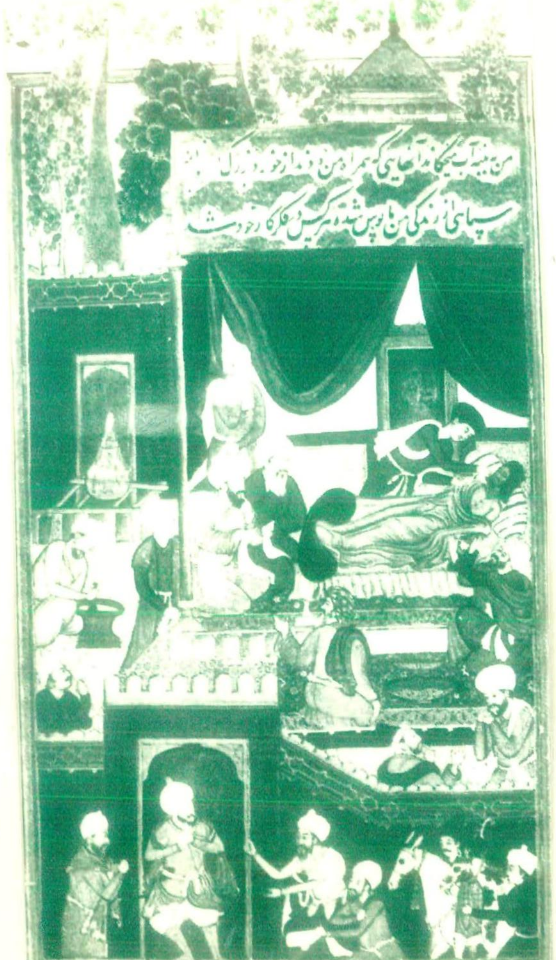


PLATE XXVIII

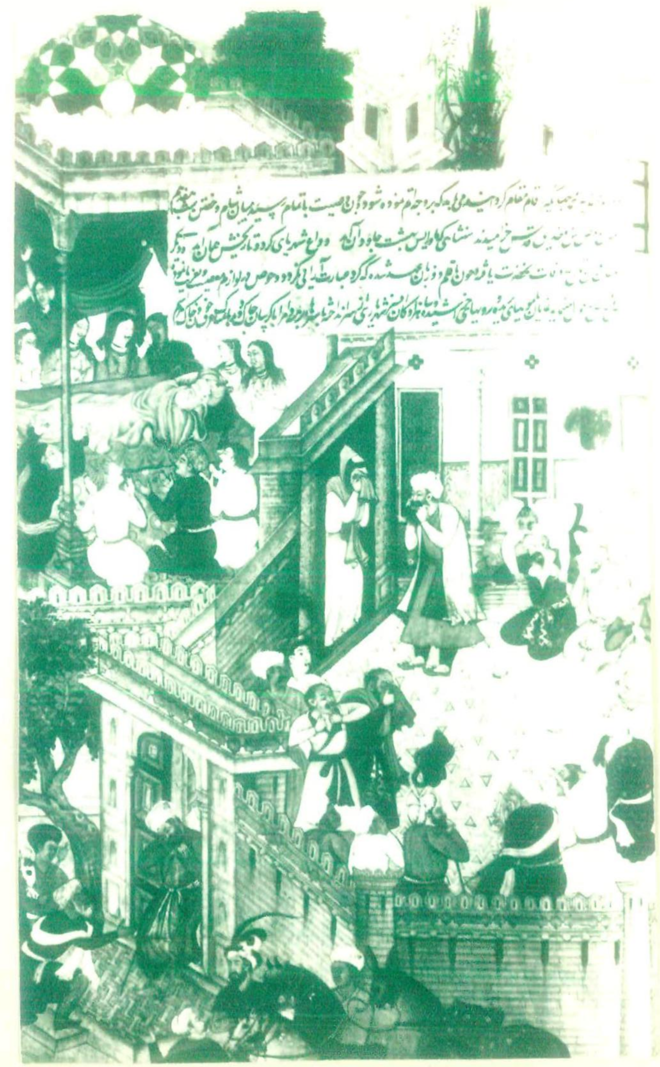


PLATE XXIX

The fights of ram; deers are composed in a closed campus of a garden (f. 492a Tuzuk; B.M.). The flat deep green in the background has dominated the whole view and the group of four nobles shown in the distant corner reamins isolated of the accident occuring in the centre. Only a few gestures of hands make the scene living (plate xxvii).

The art of portraying the flora and fauna display an admirable skill. There are 68 representations of animals and 51 those of trees contained in the various copies of the Tuzuk.[13] Some of these are marvellous not only for life like representation but also for over all composition. The animals are generally shown in action. The Moscow manuscript is comparatively inferior so far as the depiction of this theme is concerned to the other two manuscripts viz. Delhi and B.M.; yet it has some remarkable animal paintings[14] as the one shown the pheasant and the fight of black-bucks.

The pathetic and sorrowful themes[15] depicting the illness or death of emperor are represented by employing the gestures of hands and faces, presence of a tabib, the sick emperor invariably attended by tabibs and attendants (plate xxiii), a few engaged in preparing the medicine etc; and lastly the nobles waiting outside to know of the welfare

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13. Tuzuk; xxx pls. 88 - 113 (Delhi); pls. 57-86(B.M.); pls. 36-47 (Moscow). Appendix No. 7.

14. Tuzuk; pls. 38, 42, 43 (Moscow).

15. Tarikh; ff. 134a, 186a (Patna); Tuzuk; f. 70a (B.M.); pl. 20 (Delhi).

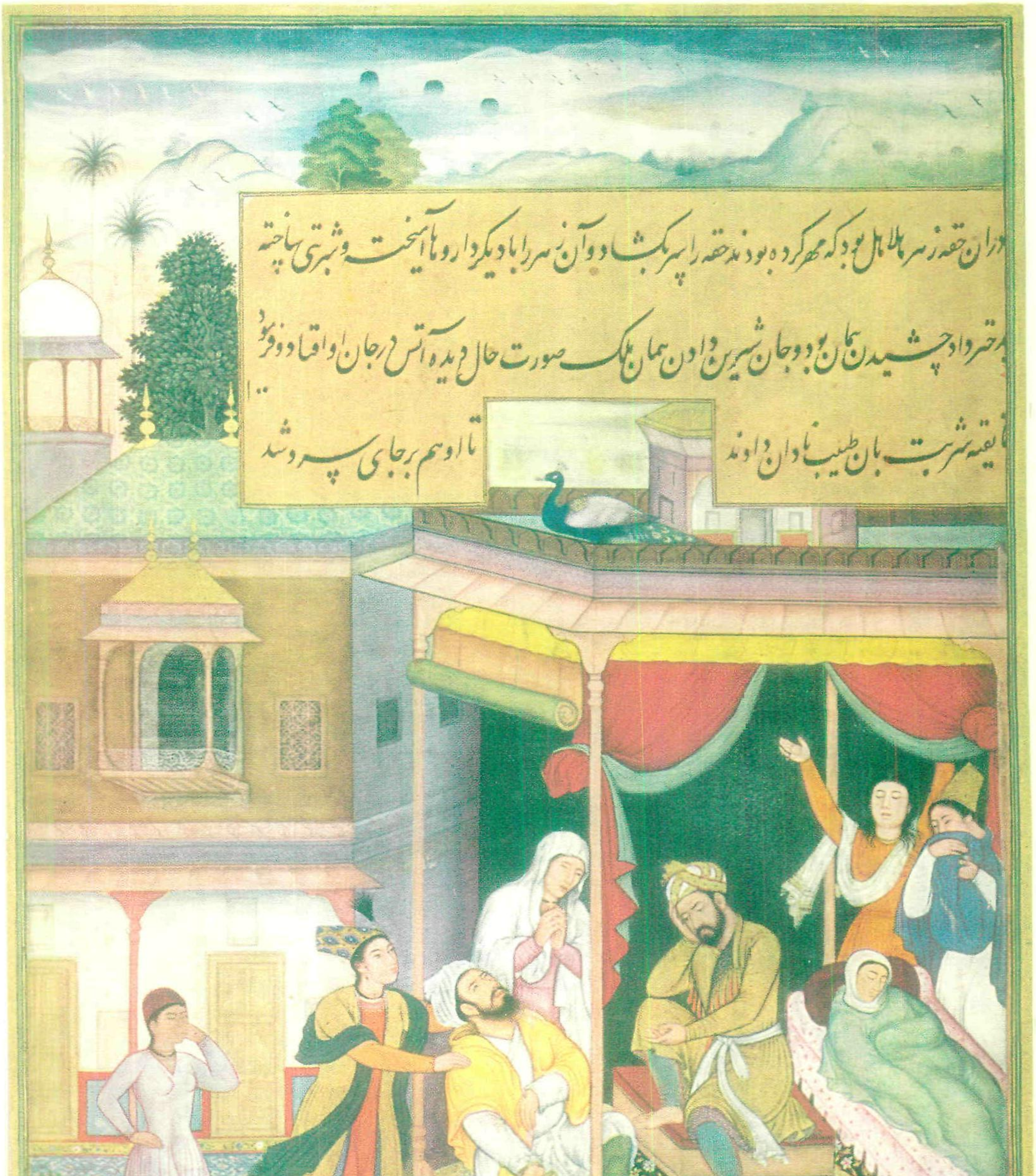


PLATE XXX

(f. 70a Tuzuk, B.M.). In a scene representing death of the emperor Timur on folio 134a (Tarikh; Patna), artist is assisted by the gestures of body. The innermost part of palace depicts near relatives including royal ladies around the dead-body and the next column accommodates friends and nobles etc. shown weeping bitterly, sitting with folded hands and bowed heads and some outbrusted of sorrow displayed tearing their cloths. The figures drawn consoling others and at the main entrace a firgure represented in pensive mood and the old man shocked of the news leave someone in the grip of sorrow (plate xxix). Similarly, on folio 186a (Ibid) the representation of the coffin of Mirza Shah Rukh, more or less is similar in gestures and postures. A scene representing the princess on death-bead, on folio 100; painted by the artist Manohar is also described by employing gestures of hands and faces as reported in former examples (plate xxx). The deceased surrounded by his near relations, the figure shown falling outbrusted of sorrow, ladies shown weeping, two men shown on the entrance exchanging the sorrowful news and the depiction of astonishment by keeping the fore-finger on the lower lip are the usual contents employed to expand a pathetic scene. the pigments invariably remain uneffected and these hardly play a role in the depiction of a particular theme. The objects display the colours and decoration etc. similar to other illustrations.

The themes representing execution of the rebellions[16] could be shown

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16. Akb; pls. 21, 34, 90 (V.A.); Tarikh; f. 70a (B.M.) pl. 20 (Delhi).



PLATE XXXI



PLATE XXXII

by hanging them, or crushed under the feet of ragging elephants or thrown from the top of a palace. The plate 21 (Akb; V.A.), drawn by the artist Miskin displays Adham Khan being thrown from the palace walls on the order of Akbar. The frightened commoners and attendants etc. represented rushing away from the scene in a confused state make the view effective. The centre - figure shown in bending posture with stretched hands pointing downward links the whole picture (plate xxxi). The execution of Khan Zaman followers by employing the trained elephants, represented in the digonal composition sketched by the same artist on plate 90 (ibid) is a living scene displaying the ragging elephants outbrusted of furious anger (plate xxxii).

Feast and festivities[17] include ceremonial scenes representing victory, birth of a prince and a feast. The depiction of last two themes also accommodate the musical performance by male and female dancers and musicians. Though there is no evidence of the miniatures illustrating entirely the musical-theme but the musical parties represented in the court scenes,[18] in a few miniatures however, supplement the same.

The theme depicting celebration of a victory is represented with a great variety of standards: almas; flags and the musical instruments belonging to the naqqarkhana viz. naqqara, Qarna, Surna, Sanj, seeng

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17. Akb; ff. 6b, 143b,(C.B.); pl. 8, 78, 80(V.A.); Tarikh; ff. 4b, 40b, 136b, 254a, 284a (Patna); Razm; pls. 37, 84, 119(Jaipore).

18. Akb; pl. 79 (V.A.); Diwan; f. 30 (Rampur), Razm; pls. 12, 39 (Jaipore).

etc. etc. A scene from the Tuzuk (B.M.),[19] represents Babur followed by his army men, royal attendants and naqqarkhana etc. sprinkling holy water on the alams fixed on ground in a line. Similar depiction may also be seen in the other copies of the Tuzuk.[20]

Birthday ceremonies[21] have been drawn according a set composition which mostly admit the princess with her new born baby in the inner part of the palace - generally shown in the high margin, the astrologers preparing the birth chart; musicians and dancers mainly female artist giving their performances; nobles etc. attending to the emperor to wish on the occasion and lastly, in the lower margin distribution of gold or silver coins among the poor or casually the naqqarkhana playing on the damama, naqqara, surna, sanj, Qarna etc. A painter composes these contents so as to partake in the whole picture. An illustration representing the birth of a prince on plate 78 (Akb; V.A.) is composed in the ascending order. The lowest group belongs to the commoners, saints, beggars etc. waiting for coins distributed among them, musicians and attendants in the middle part of the former giving their performances, and lastly the attending maids taking care of the child and the princess lying in her bed in a room attended by other

19. Tuzuk; f. 128b (B.M.).
20. Tuzuk; f. 30 (Delhi); one plate from B.M. published in Laroussed Encyclopedia by Happer & Row; plate 112.

21. Akb; f. 143b (C.B.); pls. 8, 78, 80 (V.A.); Tarikh; ff. 40b, 254a, 284a (Patna); Razm; pl. 125 (Jaipore).

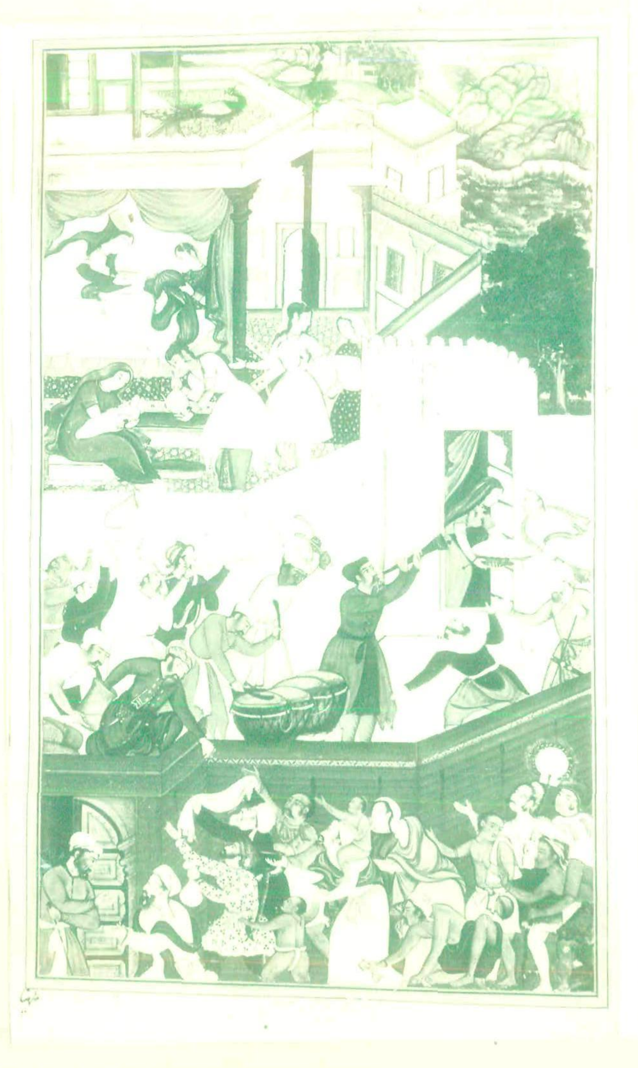


PLATE XXXIII

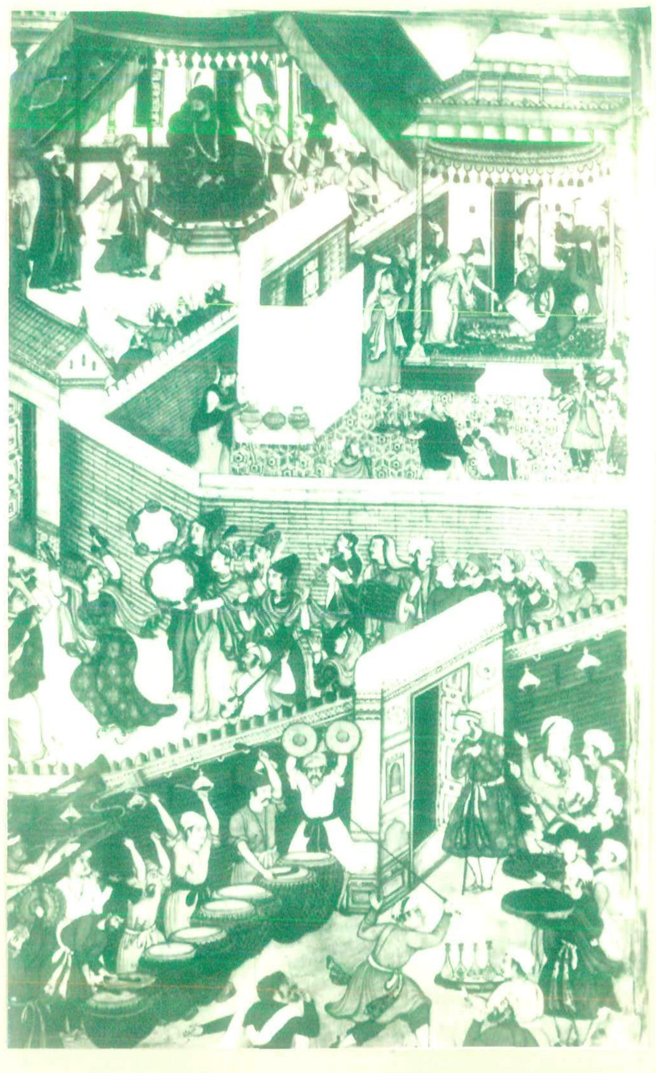


PLATE XXXIV

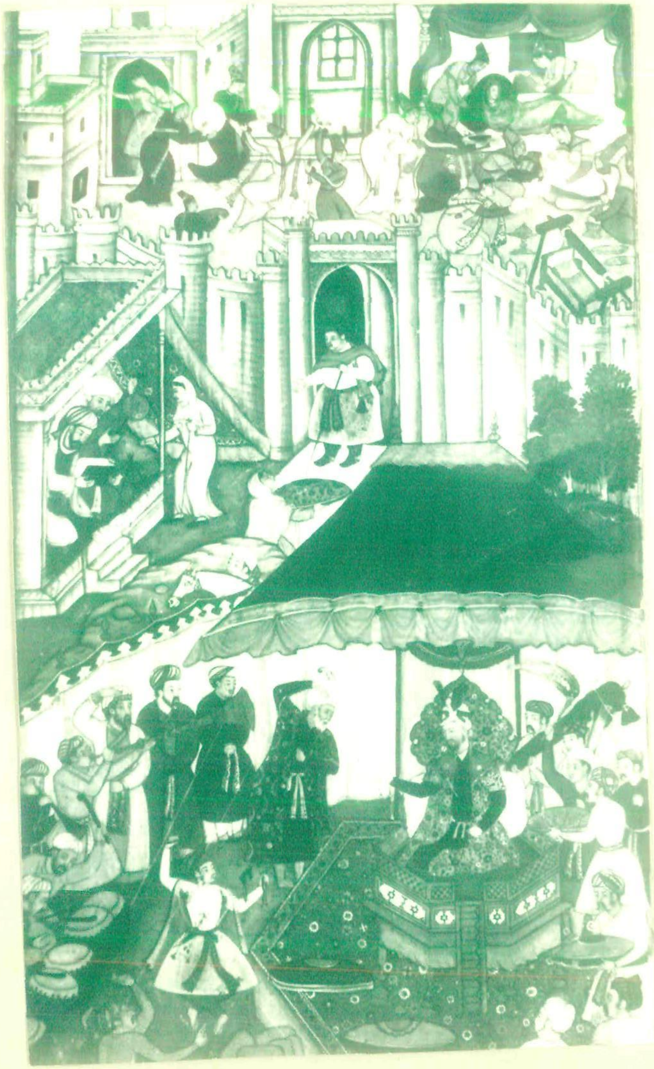


PLATE XXXV

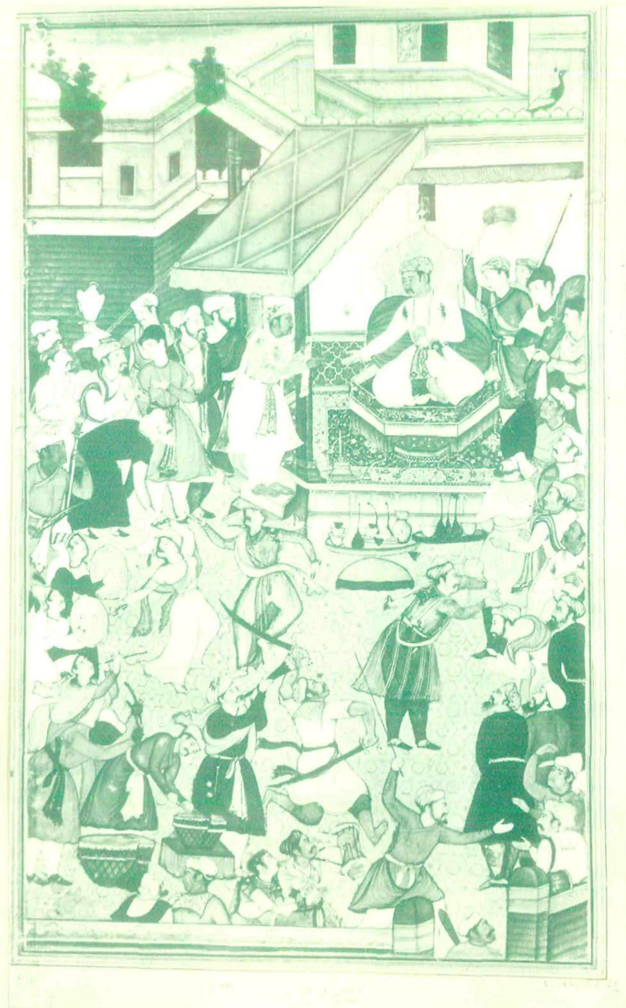


PLATE XXXVI

maids (plate xxxiii). Another instance of the similar theme, identical in composition with a slight change in the upper margin, has survived on folio 143b (Akb; C.B.). The latter represents astrologers preparing the horoscope, in the upper part of the illustration.

Best depiction of such themes has belonged to the Tarikh (Patna) on folio 40b, an unsigned miniature. The whole composition is divided into four parts. The upper half divided digonally represents the emperor and nobles, the latter to wish on the occasion, and the princess attended by maids etc. The lower half accommodates the musical parties. Firstly comes the group of female musicians and dancers and afterwards outside the palace the Naqqarkahana accomplished with most of its musical instruments. The illustration is distinguished for the variety of the musical instruments represented and the performance of the naqqarkhana. The rhythmic action reported in the dancing figures, stretched hands of drum-beaters and sanj players etc. produce a dramatic effect in the picture (plate xxxiv). The birth of Akbar represented on folio 284 (Ibid) by the artist Khem, is depicted by employing similar contents, though their placement has changed. The introduction of the astrologers preparing horoscope is an extra thought employed to illustrate the theme. The princess attended by maids, a few females taking care of child, musical performance by lady dancers and musicians, emperor receiving the happy news and lastly, performance of the naqqarkhana are the common contents composed in a different situation (plate xxxv).

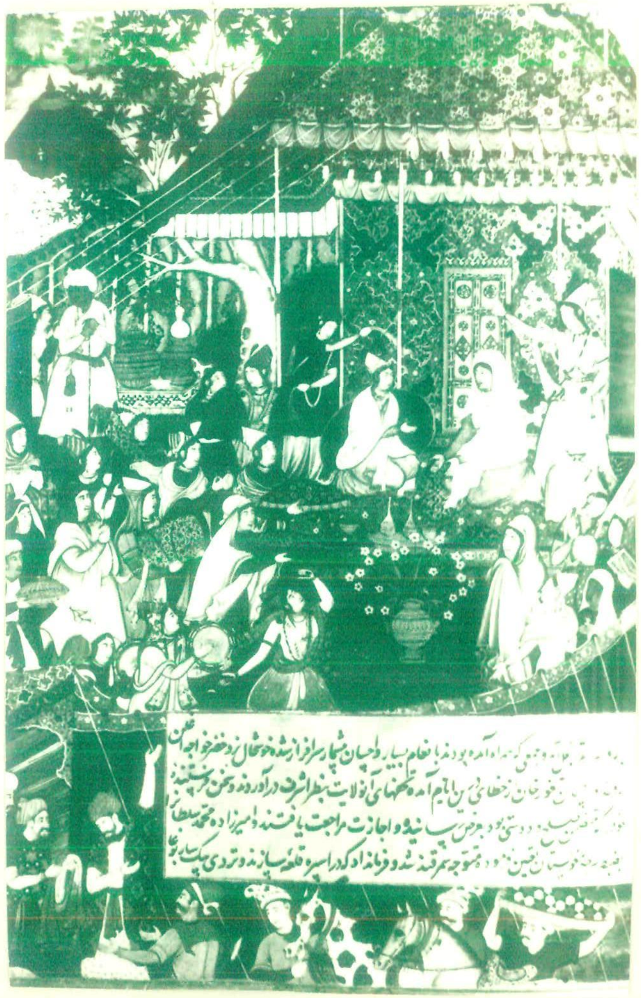


PLATE XXXVII

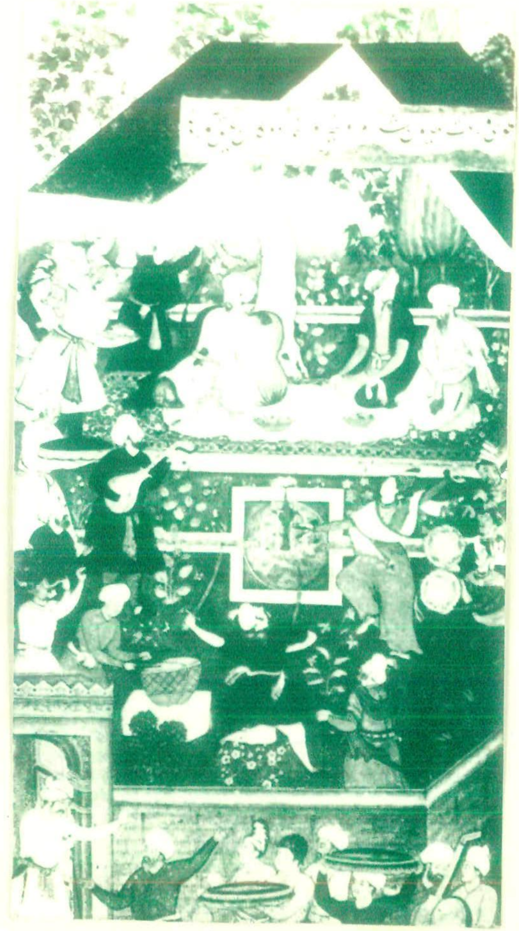


PLATE XXXVIII

Human figures drawn in different poses and gestures of faces depicting varying moods of surprise or appreciation etc. make the picture rhythmic. Dancing figures are distincted by the action and ryhthm described in them. The marked tendency of displaying the maximum number of the musicians dominates the composition. An artist does not fail to make the fullest use of the ground while composing two musicians holding dundubhi and manjeera - shown isolated from the central scene. The figure of an emperor represented busy in state affairs takes away the eye from the action taking place in the centre and break the picture in two different units (plate xxxvi). Similarly, on folios 6b and 9a (Tarikh; Patna), Veena player and musicians playing on rubab, chang and flutes represented on the extreme right margin hardly co-relate the central scene. Lastly, on the folio 72a of the same manuscript, performance of the dancer and the chang holder shown on the extremity of the camp's campus remain unidentified (plate xxxvii).

In other instances composition in ascending order is preferred. The Tuzuk represents musical performance at Kabul on the occasion of Humayun's birth (f. 295a B.M.). The picture is composed of a feast accompanied by musicians and dancers in the open-air. The musical performance has included male and female dancers, the former wielding the sword and musicians playing on the rubab, surna, naqqara, chang and flute. Male and females depicted separately in groups are drawn on the either sides of a fountain. The plants blooming with blue, white, red and pink-coloured flowers, the fountain, and the garden - all accomplish the theme reported in the centre of the miniature.



PLATE XXXIX



PLATE xL

The bright colours of costumes i.e. Vermilion red, yellow, blue; shamiyana in crimson red produce contranst with the greenry of garden and grey-greenish ground, which has neutralised the warm - effect of the bright pigments. Lastly, in the lower group, all alike the other compositions attendants etc. are shown doing their works. Interestingly,. two musicians: rubab and duf - players are represented waiting outside for an opportunity of the performance of their skill (plate xxxviii).

Similar objects make a picture of a feast scene on folio 4b (Tarikh; Patna), painted by Basawan. Though the situation of the tank, number of the musicians and instruments has varied but the central position of the dancers and the place of main dastarkhan remain identical. The background of cypress trees embraced by the trees of five-petaled flowers and trees with dense foliage has striking semblance with the former. The gaiety expression described in the figures of onlookers and the variety of postures in the dancing figures make the picture rhythmic (plate xxxix).

The performance of naqqarkhana[24] is shown limited to the themes of greater importance viz. celebration of prince's birth. As a matter of course it is invariably represented outside at the main entrance, casually accompanied by one or two male dancers (plate XL). The naqqara of varying sizes, surna, qarna - straight or formed like an

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24. Akb; f. 143b (C.B.); pls. 8, 78, 80 (V.A.); Tarikh; ff. 40b, 136b, 254a (Patna).

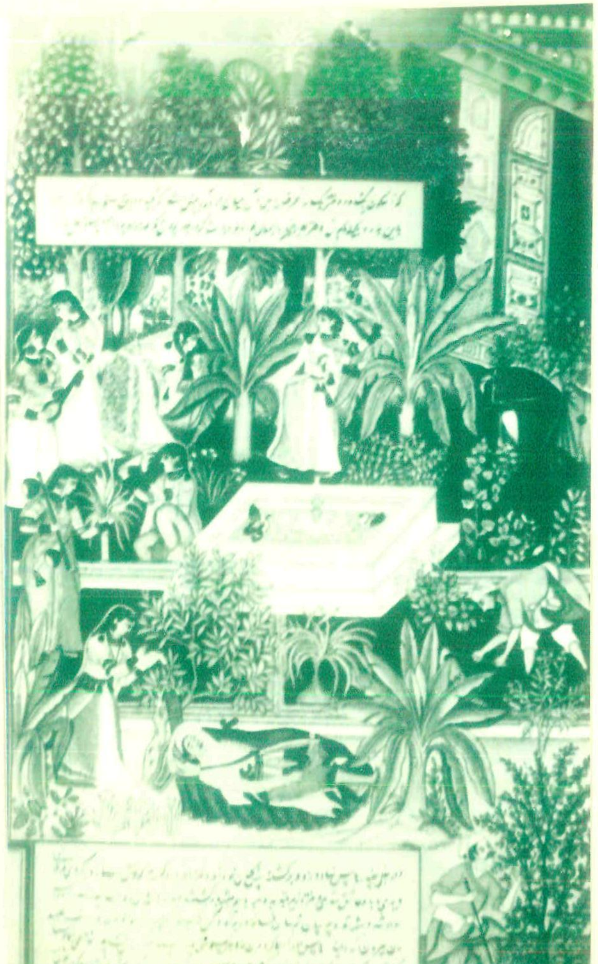


PLATE xLI

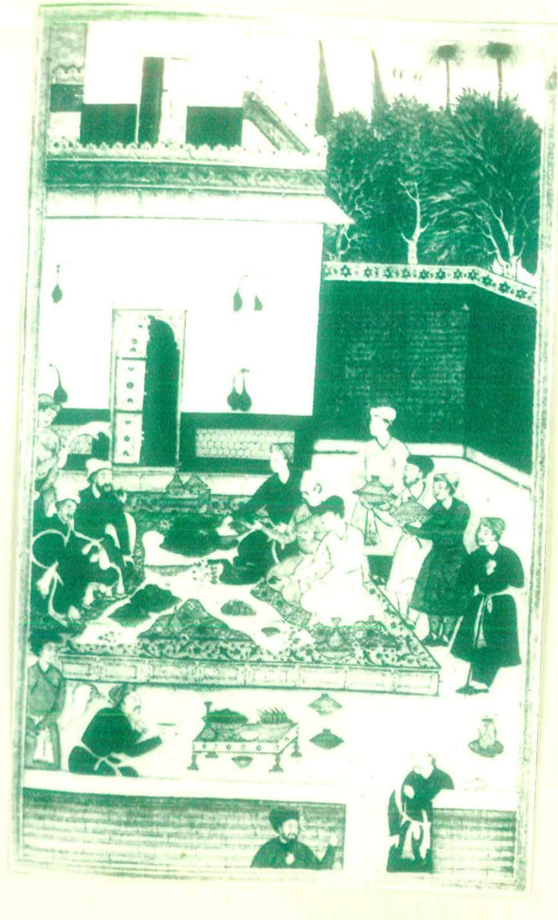


PLATE xLII

S with elongated arms, sanj etc. are the instruments depicted repeatedly.[25]

In the Razmnama[26] miniatures musical performance is a part of the havan or ashvamegha yagya - a religious rite, and feast etc. In the first two the performance is displayed in open place. It may be a riverside or so. Mirdanga is the main drum. The representation of musical performance in the accompaniment of the procession of ashvamegha yagya, is the typically Indian tradition (pl.89 Razm; Jaipore). The composition of dancers and musicians in a court scene on plate 12 (Ibid) is identical to plate 79 (Akb; V.A.). Interestingly, the elephant trained to weave musical-pattern[27] is shown in the accompaniment of the naqqarkhana. The representation of ladies with Veena and the rubab following the princess whose lover is depicted sleeping under the shady groves of trees; is an Indian mode of expressing a theme.[28] The plantains dense foliage and straight tree trunks add pleasing effect to the surrounding. The picture describing lovers in a garden, is rare in the Akbari-illustrations (plate XLi).

The scenes depicting exclusively the feast[29] or preparation of a feast[30] accommodate cooks, attendants serving the meals and the dastarkhan

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25. Ibid; plate XL.
26. Razm; pls. 89, 121 (Jaipore).
27. Ibid; pl. 72.
28. Ibid; pl. 118.
29. Tuzuk; f. 269 (B.M.).
30. Akb; f. 6b (C.B.); Diwan; f. 116 (Rampur); Tarikh; f. 118a (Patna).

in the centre on a raised plateform embellished with a carpet. The folio 252b (Tuzuk; B.M.) describes the preparation of a feast. Cooks are represented busy in dishing out the meals from degchis and the attendants holding the qabs and large platters etc. The illustration depicting Babur attended by Muzaffar Mirza on folio 217a (Ibid) is a composite picture which includes both kitchen and the dastarkhan. The picture is drawn in an ascending order. The lower group belongs to the cooks, and attendants shown at their works, and the centre is composed of the Qabs, payalas, bowls containing food articles and the serving attendants etc. The upper part is the dastarkhan.

The illustration on plate 28 (Akb, V.A.) is more or less composed on the similar lines. The utensils employed in the scene, arrangement of Qabs, representation of cooks and attendants, the figure of an attendant drawn in bending posture displayed keeping the Qab on a carpet, and others holding large platters waiting for an order are the common contents. The utensils depicted in the feast scenes are generally identical. Emphasis is laid on the objects specifically connected with the idea and these are shown significantly and prominently. However the Kitchen scenes represent more figure of men than those of utensils; and yet in a few instances it is the latter[31] that strike the eye while the humans remain comparatively insignificant.

The miniature illustrating exclusively a feast is rare in the Akbari

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31. Tuzuk; f. 253a (B.M.).

illustrations. The only instance we come across is represented by the artist Tirya (f. 269 Tuzuk, B.M.). Similar to the former example, nobles are shown sitting on either sides of the dastarkhan invariably attended by attendants. The gestures of faces and hand-poses make the picture rhythmic (plate XLii). The Qabs and large platters are always shown full of food-articles etc. as a matter of course, in the themes depicting feasts.

One theme has been repeatedly drawn by different artists, in the various manuscripts. A manuscript of importance was illustrated again and again whenever it was so needed. Several copies of different manuscripts have survived to this day.[32] For instance the copies of the Akbarnama, Anwar-i-suhaili, Razmnama, Diwan-i-Hafiz, Ramayana and Baburnama etc. are known to exist in the several collection of the world. These contain many miniatures representing common themes, though they invariably differ in their art of representation. The individuality and skill of each artist does not fail to express itself in the treatment. This is more clearly observed through comparison of duplicate reproductions of the same theme. Thirty six of such miniatures are known to us in the three copies of the Tuzuk.[33] One theme which is common to all is that of the bird trappers at work.[34]

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32. Appendices No. 2, 3, 4, 5 and 7.

33. Appendix No. 8.

34. Tuzuk; f. 45 (Delhi) f. 190 (B.M.); pl. 22 (Moscow); bird-trappers shown at work (Fog Art Museum); published in the book 'Art of Mughal India ; pl.



PLATE XLIII



PLATE XLIV

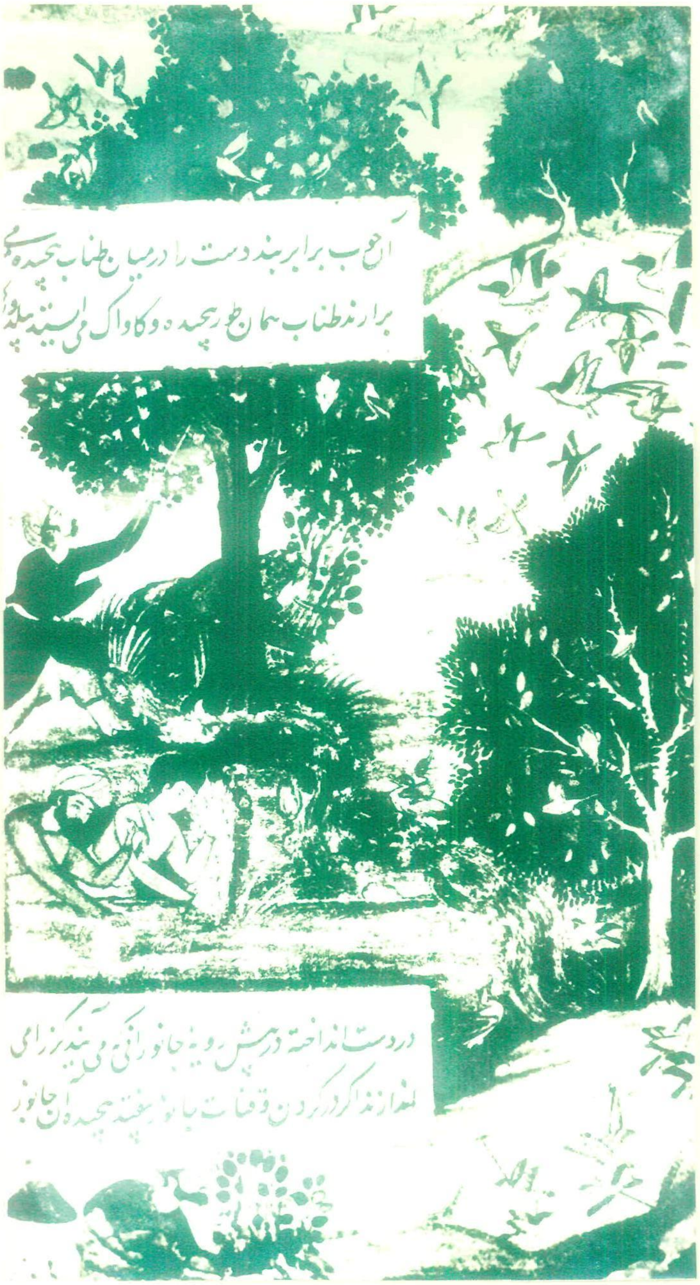

آن چوب برابر بند دست را درمیان طناب پیچیده می
برارند طناب همان طور پیچیده و کاواک می بستند
در دست انداخته در پیش روی جانوران کی می آیند بزرا می
اندازند اگر در گردن و قفات یا بو پیچیده آن جانور

PLATE XLV

The Fog Art Museum has also one painting of the same subject.[35] These all are differently composed as such the artist has conceived of the layout in his own way. In the Moscow painting the foreground is entirely covered by a net with birds trapped in its holes. The four trappers engaged in the work are shown in an expentant mood on the left margin. The rest of the space is filled with rocks and sparsely situated trees. It is an intelligent composition in so far as the main object required to be shown dominates the whole scene while the complementaries are kept in the background (plate XLiii). A similar composition is found in the Delhi manuscript bearing the name of artist Payag. From the point of view of execution the latter is however very clearly superior. The painter of British Museum miniature is Shyam. Here the composition is far more imaginative but includes too many complementry objects. A massive castle in the farthest corner balanced by a crooked elevation of a cliff and a black cluster of clouds overhanging the top margin; huge, dense trees overgrowing the varying levels of mounds, a stream in the foreground with ducks swimming and sarus cranes composedly watching; shurbs stretching along the bank, a company of no less than ten humans waiting at the trap and yet a pair of fox perched fearlessly on the rocks at the bottom - all are crammed up in the picture. Yet a good portion in the middle is left for the action. A cluster of birds is shown descending on the net or already trapped on the right side. The trappers are also on the left. The artist has tried to be

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35. Plate XLV.

as vivid as possible and has taken care to show all the implements used in bird-catching. These include a thatch screen, a glued stick, a falcon and there are cages and baskets for keeping the trapped birds (plate XLiv). The layout of the illustration contained in the Fog Art Museum is still different. Here a man is shown actually using the glue-stick while the landscape is well balanced by a distant plan and thick trees, dividing it into three parts. All this apart, in accuracy of line drawing, creating of the atmosphere, depiction of details, colouring and specially in depicting the various postures of the birds the British Museum painting excels all others. The human figures here are certainly more varied and characteristic. As compared to this the other paintings seem not only too simple but also a bit clumsy. The birds are shown mostly in the profile. The treatment of trees is fine in all of them and yet a vide conceptual difference sets them apart from each other.

Despite the general affinity characterising the settings and the atmosphere of similar themes the resourcefulness of the artist makes itself felt in the manner of their treatment. The landscape go on varying endlessly, the figures are positioned in newer and newer combinations and so do the buildings; the trunk of trees, foliage and the rest. Mughal painters were versatile in representing different themes.[36] The depiction of Hindu themes describing the celebration of a havan or ashvamegha yagya; Hindu god and goddesses;

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36. Razm; pls. 5, 14, 26, 51, 62, 74, 81, 89, 114, 121, 139, 141, 143, 145 (Jaipore).

idea of the hell; demon's figures; angels in the service of Indra etc. etc.; with equal skill evidentsthe broad imagination of the painters working at Akbar's court.

Legendry-themes have left a greater scope for artist's imagination and creative impulse. In the treatment of such themes he is assisted by nature in filling up the blank spaces. The objects directly relevant to the story are given the first place and the nature comprising of sky, hills, river, trees, plants and mounds of earth etc. are taken as subsidiary objects. In a few illustrations the landscape have become prominent and the mainfigures are left in the background. To make the distant view more living, commoners are represented casually.

The poetic-themes describing different poetries composed by Hafiz of Shiraj; represented in the illustrations of Diwan-i-Hafiz are expanded as those of the Anwar-i-suhaili (Varanasi) - the legendry themes. In these illsutrations mostly commoners, animals and casually the nobles or emperor are depicted. Events generally relate the life of common-men and provide an ample ground to an artist, to make a good use of his observation of commoner's life. The manuscript Anwar (Varanasi)[37] has represented a cultivator, a wood-cutter, a washerman and his wife, a scriber and his helper etc. which are rarely found in other manuscripts.

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37. Anwar; ff. 61, 113, 160, 218, 242 Varansi.

CHAPTER IV

REPRESENTATION OF NATURE, HUMAN FIGURES, ANIMALS AND DECORATION

NATURE

The representation of nature, in all its variety and sumptuousness, forms a very important part of Mughal miniatures. Pure landscape painting as a kind by itself does not seem to attract the attention of the Mughal painter; yet he employs natural objects frequently and for various purposes. For decorative purposes, natural objects come to the Mughal artist as a matter of course. Stylised forms of leaves and flowers dominate the layout of the hashyias (border) of the illustrations. The designs depicted on costumes, shamyianas, utensils and carpets are generally drawn from nature. But it is the background of an illustration which is invariably laid out by the depiction of trees, hills, mountains, streams, mounds of earth, sporting casual growths of shrubs, overcast by a clear, blue, star-lit sky, a crescent, or a cluster of clouds. These may be represented in varying moods in harmony with the themes of the paintings.

The love of the artist for nature has quite often resulted in a profusion or out-of-setting placement of leaves, trees or decorative foliage which lend his creations a touch of artificiality. A plausible reason seems to be that while working on defined themes, as was the case with the painters, the artist enjoyed very little freedom for independent expression. It was in the depiction of nature that he could give a loose rein to his creative talent.

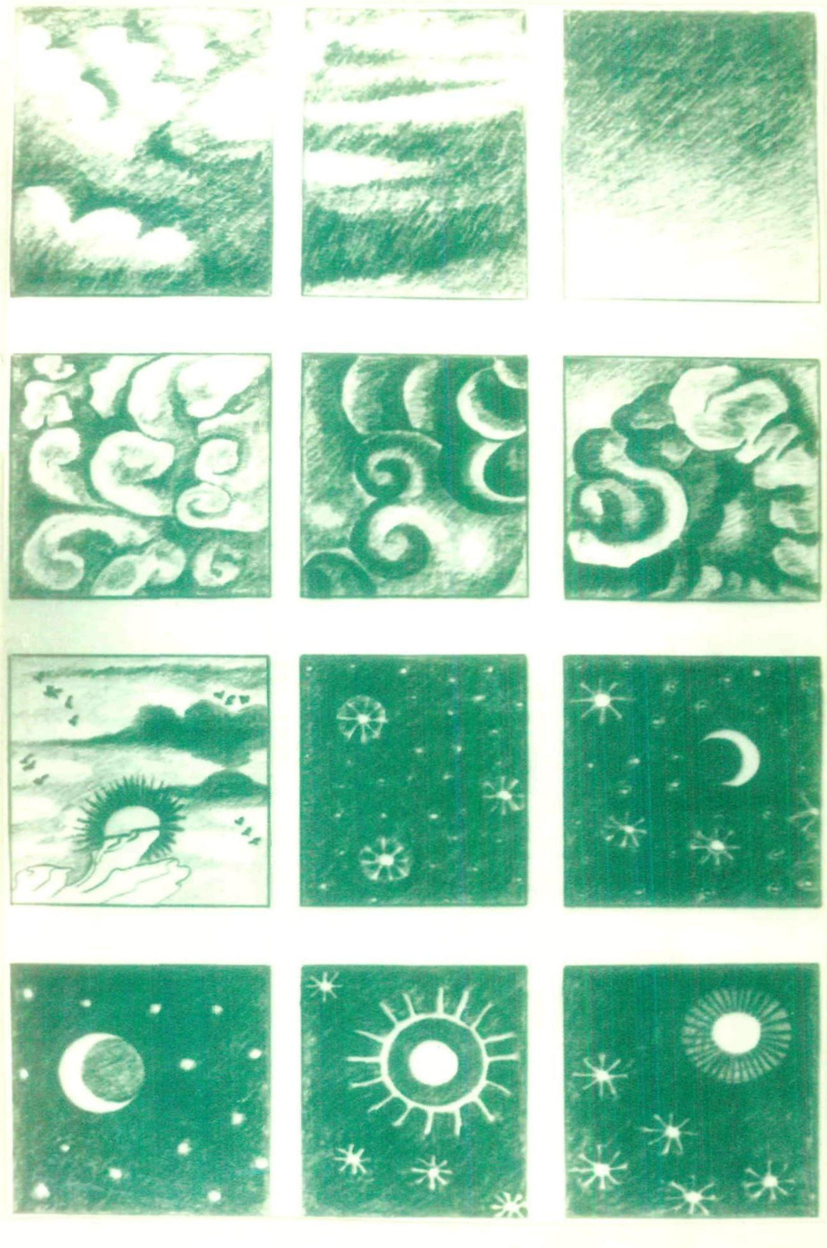


PLATE xLvi

Emphasis on the delineation of minute details is another conspicuous feature of the Mughal art. The Akbari illustrations provide striking examples of it. Depending less on light-and-shade technique, the Akbari artists seek to bring out the intensity and identity of an object mostly by means of details. It is more of a matter of technique with the artist rather than of mere expression of his power of observation. This technique is employed with equal facility in the treatment of human figures as well as of nature. In the latter however, one finds an inconsistency which betrays limitation of the painters. For instance the stem of a tree is generally rendered with such a finesse that it would seem to be enlivened with three-dimensional effect. On the other hand leaves could be found done mostly in flat colours and stylised in form.

The miniatures which deal with the subjects of huntings, gardens, feasts, catching of birds and expeditions etc. are specially composed in the lap of nature. The almost invariable display of plants and trees inside palaces and campuses show the prevasiveness of nature in the imagination of the artist. Natural objects are also used for the purpose of filling in the blank spaces in the compositions.

Sky : (plate XLVI)

For the artists the sky seems to be an essential part of a composition. Generally it is represented on the top margin. But most of the illustrations have precariously accommodated it in a very narrow strip on the top; and it is not difficult to understand that its appearance

is essentially a matter of formality. The representation of the sky is casual in the Persian Qalam. It commonly appears in the Akbari paintings. This seems to be result of the Chinese and European Arts.

The horizon is a special feature of the miniatures. It is used as a means to create the effect of distance, depth and solidity. It is employed to divide the painting into two planes, horizontal and vertical, which are represented in nature by the earth and the sky. The position of the sky in the illustrations has mattered little in its treatment and appear only as one of the essentials of the composition. In a few instances[1] the sky is represented prominently so as to partake the general view of the composition but this practice is not common. In addition to its being essential ingredient of natural perspective the sky is used frequently as a means to define the time and atmosphere of the scene depicted. This is achieved by the gradation of the blue pigment. The light blue pigment-cobalt blue or a thin wash of a blue tinge, is used to depict day time, while the effect of night is brought out by the dark-blue - Persian or blue with a tinge of purple. Sometimes the night time is characterised by showing the sky with a spray of stars-drawn repeatedly on equal distances in the form of a all-over

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1. Akb; pls. 63, 65, 66, 67, 74 (V.A.); Tarikh; ff. 123b, 147b, 331a (Patna); Razm; pls. 4, 5, 7, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17, 18, 20, 21, 25, 28, 31 (Baroda); pls. 3, 6, 14, 16, 17, 21, 41, 42, 61, 64, 65, 81, 98, 102, 115, 117, 122, 139, 141, 143, 144, 146 (Jaipore); Tuzuk; pls. 3, 11, 21, 23, 37, 38, 39, 40, 51, 52(Moscow); ff. 83, 271, 295, 306, 352 (B.M.).

design or casually splited in the sky.[2] A crescent or a full-moon[3] is sparingly employed in a star-lit sky.[4] The sun might be employed to announce the day. Incidently, while emphasising the atmospheric character of a scene the artist would seldom fail to utilise such other means as the flight of birds across the horizon to show the morning or evening time. A tinge[5] of orange or red could be mixed with blue; or rarely the gold pigment[6] is also laid flatly to depict the same.

Generally the sky is depicted flatly in monotonous blue colour. The upper part is mostly painted darker in tone than the rest below. Probably it was done so deliberately to enhance the effect of depth. The monotony is however relieved to a great extent by introducing varying tinge of colour: orange, red, or yellow, or gold pigment in the treatment of sky and colouring the clouds with it and mixing the

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2. Akb; f. 263b(C.B.); pl. 44(V.A.); Tarikh; ff. 44b, 246b (Patna); Razm; pl. 11 (Baroda).

3. Akb; f. 263b (C.B.)Tarikh; 5b, 44b, 246b (Patna); Razm; pl.11 (Baroda).

4. Akb; f. 122b (C.B.); Razm; pls. 25, 27, 32, 41, 62, 65, 67(Jaipore); Tuzuk; f. 271 (B.M.).

5. Diwan; ff. 19,30,116,177,284,355(Rampur); Anwar; ff. 17,25,30,61, 71,80,93,134,160,171,178,201(Varanasi); Razm; pls. 4,5,6,8,17,18,19,20 20,26,27,30(Baroda); Akb; f.122b(C.B.); Tuzuk; pls.8,11,13,25,31 (Moscow);ff.44,163,190,194,271,279,333,351,378,504(B.M.).

6. Diwan; ff. 19,74,116,147,177,314(Rampur); Anwar; ff.80,134,208 (Varanasi); Akb; ff. 122b (sun in gold pigment), 155b(C.B.); Tuzuk; pl. 24 (Moscow).

two by different shades of one or more colours. This is peculiarly true of the Akbari illustrations and is a feature which has distinguished its miniatures from the Persian Qalam. Sky represented with stripes of clouds, floating clouds and the patches of clouds in group all distinct the Mughal style from the pre Mughal Indian tradition also. The clouds drawn in three dimensional effect, sometimes like heavy draperies folded in circular curves and the deep-shading associate the style with the European art.[7] Similarly, though very rarely, depiction of the flying angels[8] shown perched in the sky, in the midst of floating clouds is directly derived from the latter. Chinese mode of representing clouds is also not wanting in the illustrations.[9] It may be seen in the stylised representation of clouds - in the form of a dragon or in the repitition of two or more opposite curves. Traces of the Persian mode of representation are also found in some miniatures where the Persian blue colour is employed flatly in the sky.[10]

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7. Akb; ff. 155b, 157b, 187b (C.B.); pls. 22,25,40,48,61,63,73,75, 82,92,109 (V.A.); Tarikh; 7b,10b,14a,26b,73a,230a,231a(Patna); Razm; pl.20 (Baroda); pls. 27,32,42,59,60,62,65,67,92,100,114, 115,122,123,134,136,141,195(Jaipore). Tuzuk; pls. 16,19(Moscow). ff.44a,163a,180b,190a,197a,270b,379a,403b (B.M.)

8. Razm; pl. 20 (Baroda).

9. Razm;pls. 51,81,131,144 (Jaipore).

10. Akb; ff.1,6b,10b,11,18,49b,54,57,148,245,263(C.B.);pls.6,17,18,20, 28,35,36,38,42,43,44,49,50,69,77,79,81,88,89,103,108,112,113,114 (V.A.);Tarikh; ff.2b,4b,5b,28b,40b,44b,51a,58b,62a,65b,90a,118a, 122a,126b,134a,136b,143b,163b,170b,194b,246b,253a,254a,269a,326b, 328(Patna);Razm;pls.3,7,9,10,12,14,17,23,25,28,30(Baroda);pls.7, 19,34,51,52,54,55,63,70,72,99,112,121,124,125(Jaipore);Tuzuk;pls. 3,21,23,37(Moscow). ff.2b,31b,35b,54a,94b,197b,252b,253a,256b, 306a,314a,391b (B.M.).

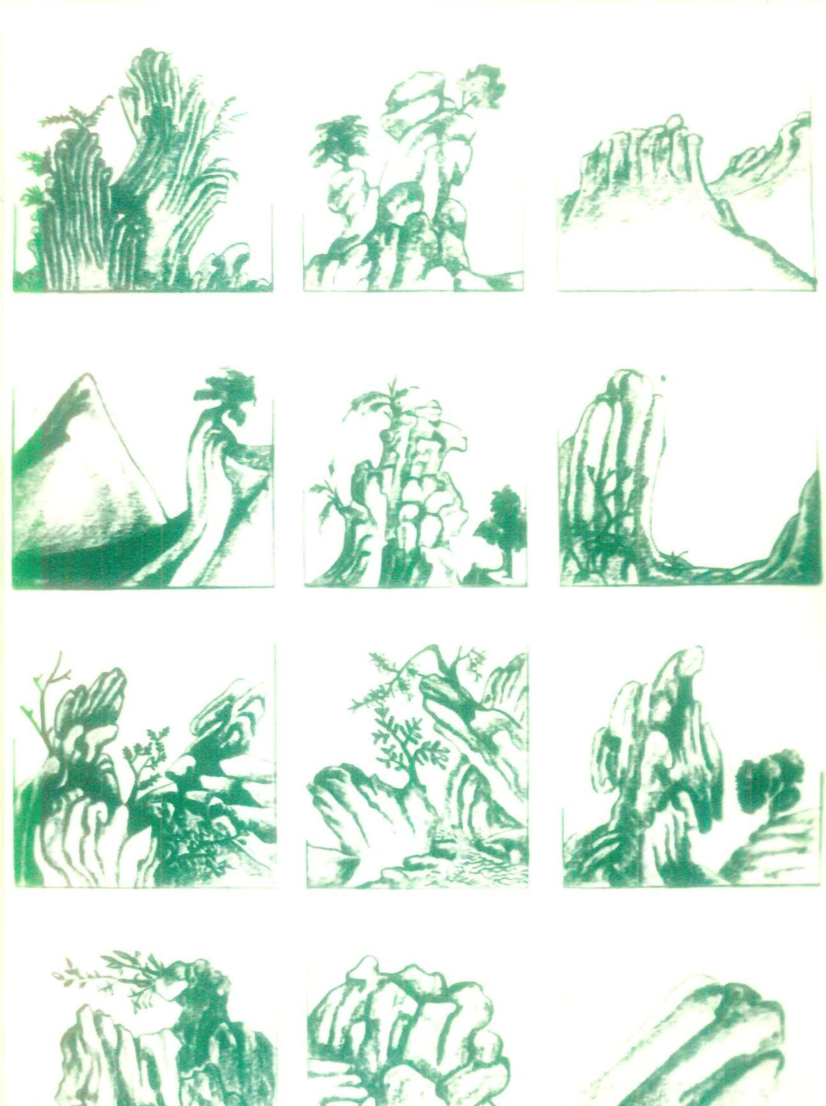


PLATE XLVII

The representation of clouds in the illustrations of the Razm.[11] (Jaipore and Baroda) make a class by itself. These are characterised by the three dimensional effect, thick shading, blending of colours in variety of tones and gradations.[12] Rarely, the similar examples are found in the other manuscripts also.

Mountains and hills : (plate XLVII)

The mountains, hills and rocks silhouetted against the sky form the background of many miniatures. The hills are drawn in curved lines and their tops are also shown rounded. While showing a hill range the artists display a marked tendency to give a tilt to the rocks which are generally longish. These characteristics are costant feature of these paintings and seem to percolate from the Persian style.[13] In the latter, it may be observed the representation of hills and mountains is made by following a few, well-defined forms and ideas, and for that reason these are always stylised. One goes on turning the folios to the end without finding any difference in their forms, though the situation might change. This kind of treatment is generally followed in the Akbari paintings. What distinguishes

11. Razm; pls. 20 (Baroda); pls. 27,32,41,59,60,62,65,67,92,98,100, 114,115,122,123,134,136,139,141,195 (Jaipore).

12. Tuzuk; ff. 190a,379a(B.M.); Akb; f.155b(C.B.). pls.25,63,73,74, 85 (V.A.).

13. "This convention of representing mountain in Persian art found favour with the painters of the Akbar and Jahangir Schools". The Technique; p. 55.

them from the strictly Persian convention is their depiction with modulated contoures and variations in patterns.[14] In many instances the curves have become simpler and sometimes a group of rocks is drawn in one patch so as to depict an elongated elliptical-curve, a tradition different from the Persian style; accommodating the Indian style of representing a hill or mountain. The setting and treatment of hills in most of the illustrations display a similarity in the type. However, in a few instances the curves are simpler and forms less stylish.

The depiction of rocks in composition is generally observed in the Persian style[15] of the period before the 16th century. Usually animals are shown perched on the hills, of these the wild ram, ibex[16] have found the favour of the artists. This practice has survived in the Akbari paintings also. Spring-plants, waterfalls and hill-rivers also add to the surroundings.

Mountains are painted in purplish colour which is obtained through mixing zinc-oxide in purple pigment. The distant hills are shown

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14. Akb;ff. 10b,25,112b,123,155b,187b,188,248(C.B.);pls.12,53,58,61, 63,65,87,88,98,99,102,103(V.A.);Tarikh; 26b,53b,101a,126b,166b, 170b,178b,226a,230a,252a(Patna);Razm; 4,6,41(Jaipore). Tuzuk;pls. 9,16,19,21,22,28,33,34(Moscow).

15. "Convention of composing with rocks arranged in proscenium with extensions to the wings in aerial perspective,all such conventions were already in current in Persian before the end of fifteenth century". Barret and Grey; p.81.

16. Akb; pls. 24,87 (V.A.); Tarikh; 21a, 46b, 54a, 227b, 269a, (Patna); Tuzuk; pls.7, 41(Moscow); ff.190,194,305,522 (B.M.).

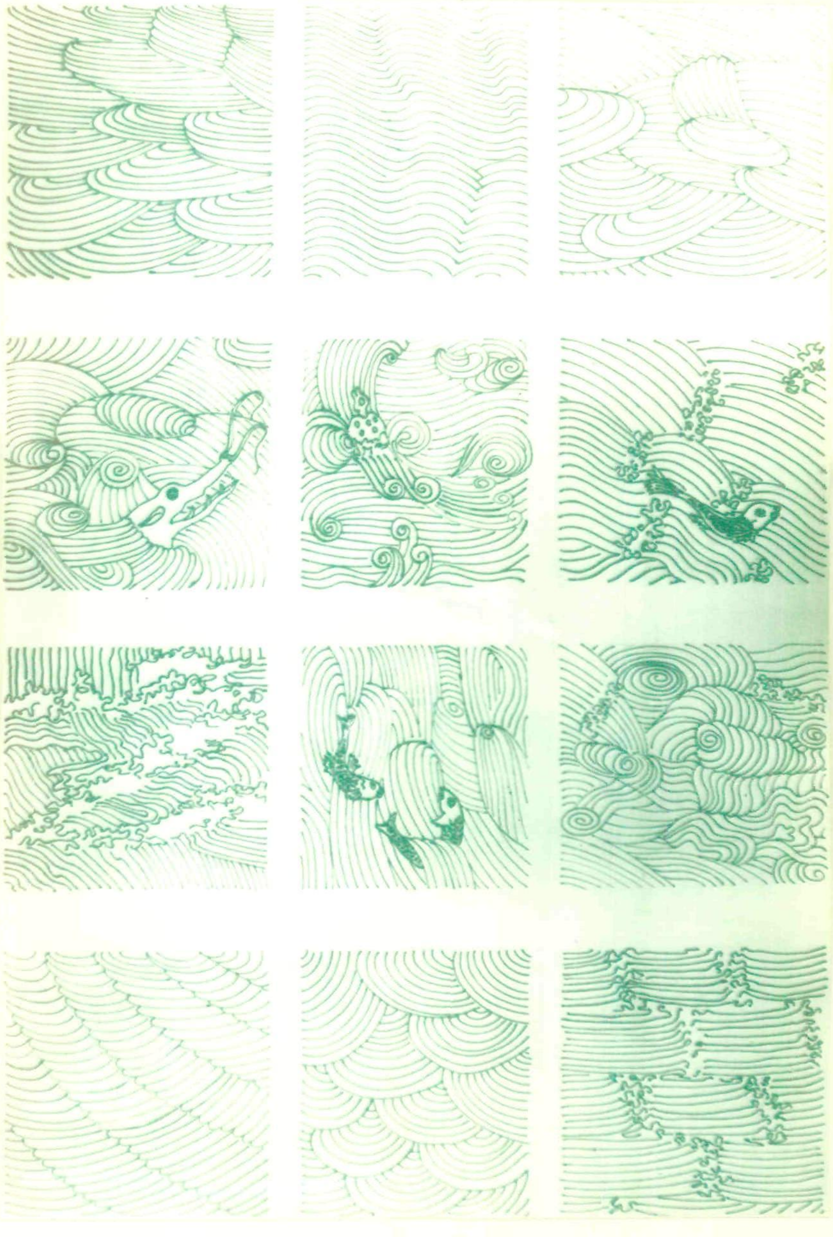


PLATE XLVIII

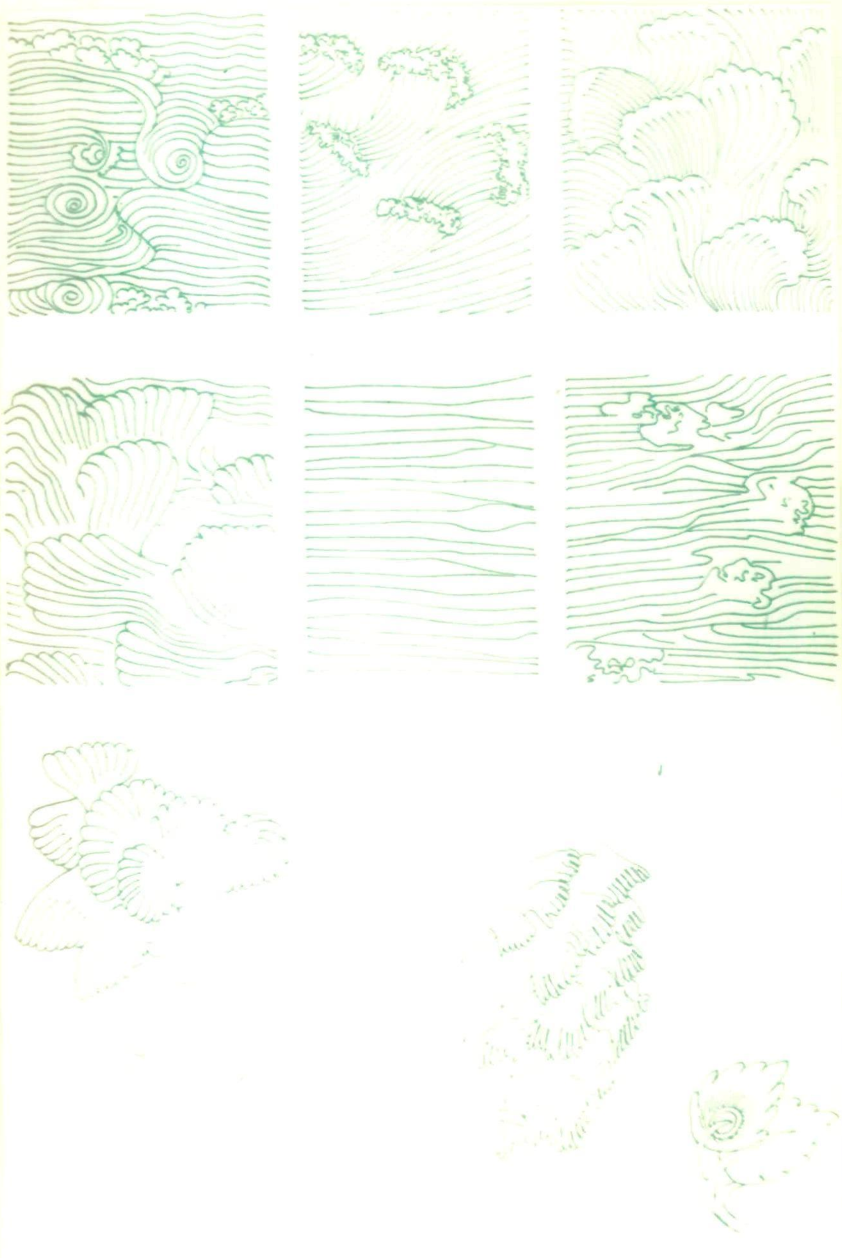


PLATE xLix

in light blue pigment. The use of golden yellow, bluish grey and reddish colours also appear in the hills. Generally the hills are shown in the groups and accordingly their colours have varied. To distinguish different parts of the hills drawn side by side, artist is assisted by the variation in colour, of which he makes a free use. In one group variation of two to three colours predominently, greenish, yellowish, reddish, bluish, a thin wash of orange etc. etc. gradations of pigments may be employed - identical to the Persian Qalam.

The hills are also used for dividing canvas, where several scenes are intended to be shown at a time. Here the hill-curtains, as one might say, separate different scene of a single theme, situation or act. Moreover in the absence of a correct knowledge of perspective, the painters make use of the hills and such other objects for bringing out the effect of distance and depth.

Rivers : (XLVIII and XLIX)

The rivers are composed with their natural surroundings comprising of stones, grassy plants or trees on their banks. The tendency is towards a realistic depiction, in the sense that the artist would seem to strive for filling in all the necessary details of a river. Waves, currents, foams, even a stray boat would not be spared in order to achieve completion in the representation.

Nevertheless, the overall effect marred emerges ultimately in a

panorama of stylish waves, curling whirlpools, fish or boats and[17] currents and so on. The Mughal painters have shown their originality in the depiction of turbulent water and curling whirlpools. He represents water in many ways.[18] Waves displayed by employing gig-gaz lines in white pigment on the grey surface composed with or without foams exhibit an affinity with Indian traditon. One may find a fish or two, or a tortoise in the water, straight or curled, but generally shown submerged in the water and half above it. In changed surroundings, a lotus[19] with leaves painted in realistic form may be seen on the surface.[20] Both of these ideas have become patented in the illustrations and can be unmistakeably identified with those found in the pre-Mughal Indian art. Similarly the representation of a crocodile or sea-pig

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17. Akb; f. 123 (C.B.); pls. 13,21,22,38,46,47,48,52,54,60,62,64,67,78, 85,97(V.A.); Tarikh; ff.23b,26b,51a,55b,101a,103b,108b,163b(Patna); Razm; pls. 4,7,13,23,131,140(Jaipore); Tuzuk; pls. 28,33,69 (Moscow); ff. 22,190,204,351,468(B.M.).

18. Plate : XLVIII and XLIX.

19. Razm; pl. 19(Baroda);pls. 16,46,60,64,65,71,91,135(Jaipore); Tuzuk; pls. 53,59,65,67(Moscow); ff.306,379a,390a,390b,398b(B.M.). (Lotus is always drawn in its realistic form and colour. It may be represented half or fully-bloomed in a group with buds and leaves on the surface of water. A fully bloomed lotus appears like a round dish divided into several petals of equal dimensions. The petals are drawn like a pointed leaf, though in a few instances its stylised form has been employed. The petals drawn in a circular-curve in a circle form an ornamented lotus. These curves are rhythmic and produce an effect of circling movement. The back or side view are also met with. The red lotus has mostly fascinated the painters.)

20. Razm; pl.19(Baroda);pls. 4,7,14,15,16,23,33,65,71,91,121,126,129, 130,131,135,139(Jaipore);Tarikh; ff.4b,331a(Patna);Tuzuk; pl. 7, 32,33,40,45,46,65(Moscow); ff. 204b,306a,387b,391b,394a,394b, 504b (B.M.).



P,LATE : L



PLATE Li

drawn like a dragon associates the style with the Chinese Qalam.[21] In other instances current represented in comb-like lines on the blue surface associate the Persian style.[22] The introduction of ducks etc. in the representation of water seems the innovation of the Mughals.

The colour used is blue or steel grey for the base. The lighter tones are achieved by mixing zinc-oxide in it, in the depiction of waves. Incidently, the tinge of orange or yellow is also employed to depict the foams or whirl-pools etc.

Trees : (plate XLIX, L and Li)

Backgrounds of miniatures are generally detailed with trees and plants. Their representation is necessary in the scenes of camps, huntings, catching of birds, feasts and expeditions etc. The artist uses them as a ready means for producing natural effect, contrast and rhythm in the picture. Dense foliage and long, straight trunk are the common features of the trees painted in the illustrations,

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21. Akb; 64 (V.A.); Tarikh; 51a, 101a, 108b, (Patna); Razm; pls. 23, 121, 126, 129, 130, 131, 139 (Jaipore); Tuzuk; pl. 69 (Moscow); f. 504b (B.M.).

22. Razm; pl. 19 (Baroda); pls. 7, 16, 20, 46, 91, 97 (Jaipore); Tarikh; ff. 4b, 331a(Patna). Tuzuk; pls. 22,53,59,65,67(Moscow). ff. 173b, 190a, 197b, 306a, 380a, 391b, 398b (B.M.).

and are evidently drawn from the pre-Mughal Indian art.[23] Within the limits of these forms variety is sought to be created by rendering them so as to have a conical top or round or oval expansion of foliage above the trunk. Sometimes these are painted above the horizon.

A pleasant exception to the stereotype art of the Akbari illustration is remarkably realistic and free rendition of the trunks of the trees. Minute details of the folds, knots, wrinkles, pits and bulges are depicted in naturalistic forms with exquisite modelity and tonality. Attempt is made to produce the image of solidity and roundness through shaded lines. Three-dimensional effect has been created in the figures of trunks by this method.[24] Interestingly, notwithstanding the form of the upper part of tree which is predominently stylish, the small branches are found quite frequently treated in the fasion of the trunk. An apparent similarity in their forms may well have been the reason of this appraoch. However, considered individually, this kind of treatment of branches exhibits an interesting tendency towards

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23. "In some of the paintings of Akbar School, however, the Indian influence in the representation of plantain, mango and cypress trees in the background with the garden enclosure is reminiscent of Indian influence than the Persian Convention according to which trees were not often represented in dense foliage and straight trunks". The Technique; p. 53.

24. Akb; pls. 17,18,30,39,40,53,54,62,69,72,74,82,84,87,92,93,117 (V.A.); Tarikh; ff. 2b,20b,60b,72a,123b,128b,129a,131a,148a,163b, 178a,202a,269a,322a,323a(Patna); Razm; pls. 4,5,17,18,19,31(Baroda); pls. 1,2,3,5,7,10,11,14,16,18,20,34,35,41,49,50,53,60,70,74,79, 91,102,103,106,109,110,120,122,128,131,135,141(Jaipore); Tuzuk; pls. 8,9,11,16,19,20,21,23,25,33,37,39,40,48-62,64,67(Moscow); ff. 6b,7a,173b,180b,190a,197b,252b,256b,285a,295a,352a,370b,346b, 393b,398a,398b,399b,404a, 405b, 406a, 418a,453a(B.M.).



PLATE LII



PLATE LIII

adopting the technique of realistic expression in the Mughal art. In more phenomenal way, this development is comprehensibly observed in the treatment of dry and naked branches, as for instance in the folios 283 and 284 of the Tuzuk (B.M.). The realistic treatment of tree trunk depicting three- dimensional effect and the curve drawn in accordance of the form representing depression and folds in the appearance of a trunk is after the European tradition though not entirely identical.

A very typical feature of these paintings is the constancy of the visual form which the leaves retain despite variations in distance, positions and significance in relation to the other objects on the canvas. Each of the leaves must be represented with the maximum of details, whether it grows on a plant or hangs by a stem on the top of a tall tree. The whole bulk of the foliage of a tree would be shown full of the leaves - which are arranged in opposite-setting.[25] Their wains would be shown irrespective of their position, hieght or size. The two surfaces of the leaf (front and the back) are distinguished by variation in the intonation of the pigment (plate Lii & Liii). The upper surface is painted in darker tones than the lower surface; and this is in confirmity with nature. The stylised form of leaves has also belonged to the pre-Mughal Indian tradition.[26] Leaves composed

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25. Plate L.
26. Plate L; Akb. ff. 19,25,169(C.B.); pl.32(V.A.); Razm; 4,18, 19, 99 (Jaipore).

in a group of circles, half-circles like a pattern of flower with many petals is typically Indian tradition which came handy to the Mughal painters also. Such depiction of a foliage may be seen in several examples of the Rajput miniatures.[27] The leaves drawn with foliated edges are the stylised version of the cut-leaves found in nature.

Trees, drawn single or double with a few leaves and branches full of flowers[28] - with five or six petals; casually represented with a cypress tree reflect the influence of the Chinese _Qalam_ - already adopted by the Persian painters (plate Li(b)). The composition of of these trees has fascinated the most to the artists who have sparingly employed it in the out-door scenes and also as a motif of decoration.[29] The single unit of a flower with five petals is equally favoured for decoration etc.

The trees depicted in the illustrations are closer to nature and more varied than in the contemporary Persian miniatures and pre-

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27. Plate Li(a) _Akb_; pls. 14,34,35,59,60,83,85,104(V.A.); _Tarikh_; 2b,18b,44b,61b,62a(Patna); _Razm_; pls. 60,96(Jaipore). _Tuzuk_; pls. 9,31(Moscow); ff. 23a, 70a, 94b.

28. _Diwan_; ff. 19,116,147,247,355(Rampur); _Akb_; ff. 10b,49b,(C.B.); pls. 9,22,24,32,38,49,84,92,102,104,117(V.A.); _Tarikh_; ff. 2b, 4b, 14a, 21a,90a,134a,(Patna); _Razm_; pls. 4,12,13,19(Baroda); pls. 12,20,23,41,49,75,123(Jaipore). _Tuzuk_; pls. 11,20,21,23, 24,49 (moscow). ff. 35b, 52a, 49b,181b, 208b, 252b, 29500, 351b, 492a, 522a (B.M.).

29. Supra p.

Mughal Indian art. The predominent features are realistic in form, though exceptions are met with where stylisation is favoured. The study of trees in its purest form are the illustrations contained in the Tuzuk.[30] These miniatures represent a great variety of trees and their species - described by the emperor Babur in his Memoirs.[31] The character of the trunks, leaves, fruits and flowers etc. help in distinguishing a plant or a tree, though it is difficult to distinguish their species. Of these Chunar, Kamrakh, Jammu mango, pomegranate, Kirni, badhal, Biir, paniala, orange, lemon, citrus, samgtara sadafal, amrud and Indian palms - Chirunchi and date etc. are sparingly represented.

HUMAN FIGURES

The illustrations are studies in action rather than in character. The emphasis is on the description of themes, wherein human figures appear as persons but do not always emerge as personalities. The themetic overtone of each of these illustrations is thus the determining element of the character of the art itself. With an array of colours,

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30. Tuzuk; pls. 48,49,50,51,52,53,54,55,56,57,58,59,60,61,62,63 (Moscow); ff. 398a,398b,399b,400b,401b,203b,404a,405b,406a, 406b,407b(B.M.).

31. Baburnama; Vol. II; pp. 503-513.

a set of conventional lines and a few types, the artist manages to justify his claims to virtuosity. He is bothered by no demands of naturalism and the gravest of his errors get past undetected by the connossieur, himself trained to want nothing better than clarity in the execution of conventional media. The function of anatomy in art, the geometry of postures, the rules governing visuality, the intutive perception of proportions, the diminutive impact of distance, all escape his attention.

Action is directly reported through lines, a technique that is of fundamental significance in sketch drawing. In colour painting, it is one of the requisites which goes side by side with the correct judgement of muscular adjustments during action. An skillful artist uses the two techniques to the maximum advantage when he is able to visualise the degree and nature of the participation of each part of muscle of the body in a particular action. The degree of perfection of a representation is thus directly proportional to the extent of coordination detween observation and technique. It is exactly here that the Akbari artists display a different attitude. His attention is concentrated on those parts of the body which are directly involved in the action - the rest of the body is painted in a neutral attitude. A certain direction of the head, or an angle at which the hand is to be lifted or stretched would, for instance, be considered sufficient for depicting a bended posture. The apparent reason for this lack of co-ordination appears to be the fact that for each set of motions, as for each part of the body he depends for expression on formula lines and angles. One may go on turning leaf after leaf without finding the



PLATE LIV

slightest change in the direction and form of the feet, which are depicted flat and mostly turned to a side (plate LIV). The feet are generally covered by socks and shoes. Bare feet are seldom shown and sometimes without fingers, as the front extremity of the foot is rendered in a flat curve. This style proclaims its affinity to the Persian Qalam. Rarely, the anatomy of foot has called artist's attention. On folios 49b, 201 and 245 (Akb. C.B.). Akbar is shown sitting in a throne with one leg folded so as to face the sole. The artist has successfully drawn the curvature of soul with the details of fingers - which associate the drawing with the Ajanta art.

In fact half of the body from the waist downward is a type, a component of the figure that remains usually indifferent to the changing vicissitudes of the upper half. Not uncommonly one come across figures, the different parts of which would seem to belong to different situations - e.g. legs in profile, body in front view, face in profile, semi-profile, three-quarter profile or just the reverse profile. Nevertheless the artist is not entirely unmindul of the semblance of the attitude and the identity or unity of the subject - as L. Hazek[1] has pointed out, this unity is not quite dissolved, but remains incomplete.

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1. "Though the unity of the subject figure is never quite dissolved- as happens in the West Indian and some of the Rajput paintings - it never becomes as complete as it does in European paintings, not even in the Mughal artist's own copies of it". Indian Miniatures; p. 32.

Human figures are posed to give either the front view, or three-quarter view, a little more than profile, one and a quarter-view or the back view. Foreshortening is completely missing from the technique.

As for postures, human figures are shown mostly either standing in full strature or sitting with hands folded on the chest or rested in the lap. The postures are repeated in the scenes of hunting, war and feast with minor variations.[2] Bending posture is depicted rarely, though they are shown engaged in a variety of chores. Violent action is peculiar to the battle, expedition and hunting scenes.[3]

The bodies are all covered with loose garments leaving only the face, the hands and the back of the feet bare.[4] Half-naked figures are rare,

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2. Akb; ff. 1,6b,25,143b,147b,157b,169,245(C.B.);pls.8,9,14,15,28,32, 41,45,50,110,114(V.A.);Tuzuk; pls. 23,29,67,69(Moscow); ff. 44, 163,208,253,305,322,520(B.M.); Tarikh; ff. 5b,58b,118a,126b,148a, 32b(Patna); Razm; pls. 34,39,60,84,91,100,140(Jaipore); pls.2,9, 25 (Baroda).

3. Akb; ff. 32b,118,255 (C.B.); pls. 6,11,12,17,18,21,22,25,33,61, 116(V.A.); Tarikh; ff. 8b,9a,17a,24a,32a,40b,46b,53b,65b,66a,101a, 110b,170b,253a(Patna); Razm; pls. 11,43,58,63,112,143(Jaipore). Tuzuk;pls. 7,9,26,27(Moscow); ff.84,271,283,453 (B.M.).

4. Akb; ff. 12b(elephant drivers), 148(two men holding long shields), 153(labourers), 263b(an old man in the lower margin) C.B.;pls. 13 (boatman), 22(boatmen), 39(elephant drivers), 43(attendants holding torches etc.),45(labourers at work),46(labourers), 61(saints), 62 (saints), 66(labourer), 78(beggar in the lower margin), 82(labourers), 83(labourers), 85(fishermen),86(labourers),V.A.; Tarikh; ff.17a(boatmen); 51a(boatmen), 89b,101a(boatman), 322a(saints) Patna; Diwan; ff. 74,211(Rampur); Tuzuk;ff.6,44,190,204,333,370(B.M.) (In the Razmnama illustrations male-figures are mostly drawn half naked -upper part of the body bare; partially covered with a long piece of cloth called doshala.)

nudes are totally absent; whereas the latter may be seen in the contemporary Persian art.[5] The study of anatomy has hardly any relevance to the requirements of the artists. The half-naked bodies of the sailors, saints and fishermen[6] provide the only example of their knowledge of anatomy. As it is, these figures are more or less devoid of any display of muscular action. In some cases it is difficult even to see where the knee is positioned in a bare leg.[7] Rarely in a very few examples the display of muscles[8] involved into action, is the subject of expression. The variety of action is expressed by means of outlines, though sometimes the ribs and muscles of the chest and back are depicted. As a matter of rule the body is shown flashy with hardly any distinguishing lines between the muscles.

The garments are drawn directly in set proportions and sometimes without any consideration given to the body inside. The exposed part of the body are shown emerging from the clothes and do not seem to represent the continuity of the limbs concerned. This has resulted sometimes in disproportion and imblance of the figure represented.

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5. Khamsa by Nizami (dated A.D. 1547): A few illustrations are published in the Persian Miniatures by Kubickova Vera; pls.22 and 24.
6. See F.N. 4.
7. Tuzuk; ff. 204b, 504 (figures of boatmen) B.M.
8. Tarikh; ff. 17a (boatmen), 89b (Patna); Akb; ff. 263b (an old man in the lower margin) C.B.; pls. 61(figure of a saint shown in the lower margin on extreme left corner); V.A. Diwan; ff. 74, 211 (Rampur); Tuzuk; f. 370b (saints) B.M.

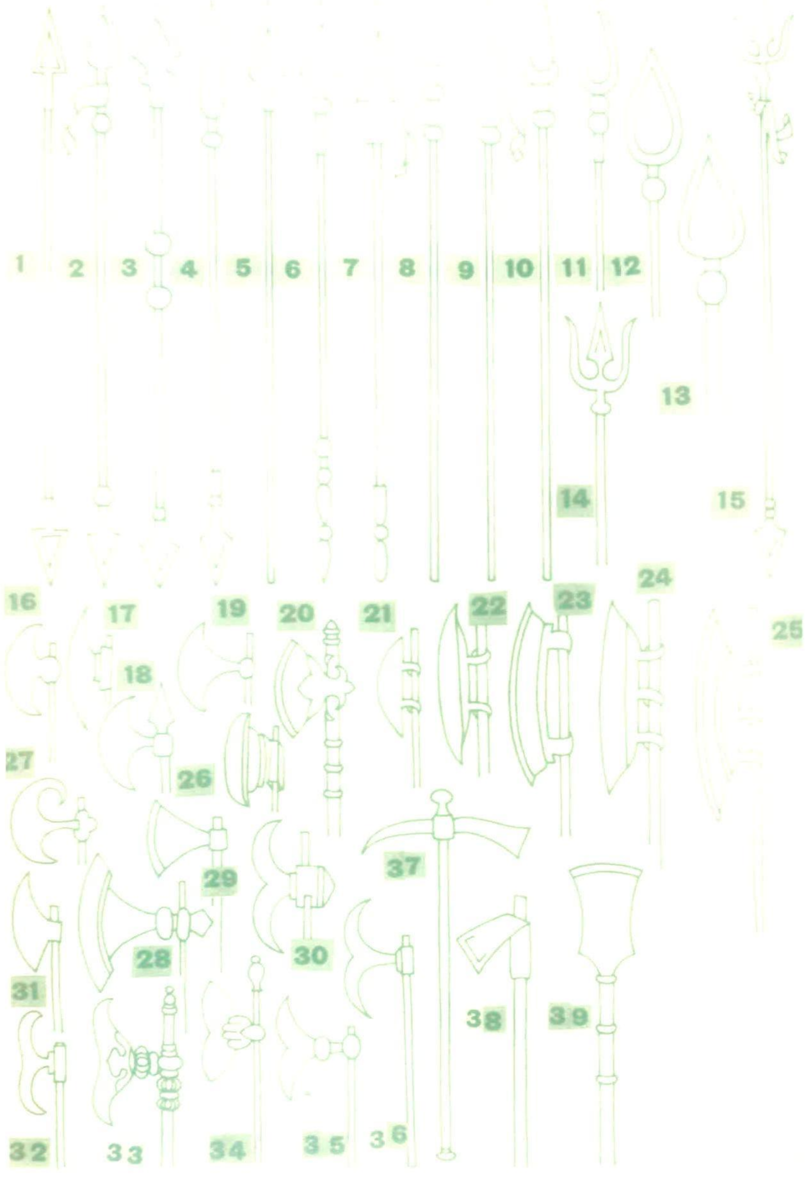


PLATE LXXXIII

Incidently, Babur mentions three types of daggers.[28] (a) Broad dagger set with jewels, which is the same as jamdhar. (b) Khanjar, also a jewelled weapon and (c) an enamelled waist-dagger. There was presumably no special shape of the last one and point of difference between it and others was only that of its material.

Abul Fazl[29] mentions three other types also. The jhanwa which is a hiltless dagger, the jamkhak, a curved dagger and the Katara, a long narrow dagger. The paintings however contained no representations of them.

The Kard :

The weapon shown in the illustrations[30] has closely resembled the gupti-card (Ain (Bloch), Vol. I, pl. xii, fig. 29; No.35 p. 117) with the difference of its length. It is a knife for thrusting with, kept in a shieth and provided with a gauntlet hilt. The blade is narrow like a rapier.

The Spear :

Of the five varieties of the spear mentioned in the Ain[31] only a few are represented in the miniatures. One of these called nezah

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28. Broad dagger (jamdhar); Baburnama, Vol.II, p. 528; Khanjar (Ibid); enamelled waist dagger, Ibid; p. 304.
29. Ain (Bloch.); Vol.I, figs.6,8,9, pl.xii; nos. 7,9,10; p. 117.
30. Plate LXXXI, fig. 3.
31. Ain (Bloch.); Vol. I, figs. 16-20, pl. xii; no. 20-24; p. 117.

(Ain (Bloch.); Vol. I, pl. xii, fig. 16; No. 20, p. 117) consisting a small steel head fixed to a long bamboo shaft (Steingass, p.1442); is the cavalry lance.[32] The narrow blade shown in the Ain for nezah seems equivalent to bhala (भाला), a lance with the narrow head.[33] The blades of the other cavalry lances are long, three or four sided or sometimes leaf-shaped ending in a fairly sharp point similar to the head of the sak, shown in the Ain (Ibid. pl. XII, fig.18; No.22, p. 117). Besides these we come across of a lance having blades at either ends.[34] The blade fixed at the upper-end is longer and occasionally with a flag near it on the shaft. At a time, both these blades have belonged to different categories of the spear-head viz: the lances shown on plate LXXXIII, fig. no. 2 and 4 are the combinations of the nezah and sak and nezah and salara respectively.[35] Lastly, the spear having a longer arrow-head that of the nezah has resembled the salara (Ain, fig. 20; No. 24, p. 117).

The lance of the infantry is heavier. Their blades are shaped like a large leaf fixed to a steel shaft.[36] It may be defined as ballam (बल्लम), well known in Hindi. It is a short spear with broad head. The trident, a typically Indian weapon, known as tirshul (त्रिशूल) in Hindi and commonly holded by holy men, has been

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32. Plate LXXXIII, figs. 1,5,6.
33. Ibid; figs. 8,9,10.
34. Ibid; figs. 1,2,3,4,
35. Ibid; fig. 7.
36. Ibid; figs. 11,12,13.

depicted in a battle scene of the Sanyasis (Akb; V.A.; pl. 61; 62). The prong in the middle is similar to that of the Salara, and the other two, on its either sides are curved like a stiff-neck of a swan.[37] This is not a weapon of the Mughal-soldier. However in one instance, a few attendants probably guards, are shown laced with this weapon (Ibid; pl. 21). It could also be provided spear head at the lower end.[38]

The shafts could be made of iron or wood. The length varied from 8 to 10 feet.

The battle axe :

It is weilded by royal attendants and guards who are shown carrying it in hand or on the shoulder. The types shown in the illustrations[39] are the tabar, tabar-jaghnol and tarangla etc. The tabar is a simple battle axe consisting of curved crescent like blade with broad cutting edge. This may be provided with one or two sockets for the shaft. Ain[40] has shown it with a triangular blade. Varying forms of the tabar's head are curved like an arch, or dubly curved, or have a depression in the middle. Casually, the upper half of the

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37. Ibid; fig. 14.
38. Ibid; fig. 15.
39. Plate LXXXIII, figs. 16-39.
40. Ain (Bloch.); Vol. I, fig. 22, pl. XII, No. 28; p. 117.

blade is elongated so as to ending in a sharp-point. The battle-axes made of heavy, long blades consist two to three sockets for the handle.[41] The battle-axe having a spike opposite the blade is similar to the pole-axe. The battle axe consisting a spear-head besides the blade, called tarangla (Ain (Bloch.), Vol. I, pl. XII, fig. 27; No. 33, p.117);[42] is a combination of a spear and a battle-axe, now a days known as halberd or halbert.[43] A double headed axe with a pointed blade like the jaghnol (Ibid; pl. XIII, fig. 24; No.30, p. 117) on one side and a broad blade similar to that of the tabar, opposite to the former is called by the name of tabar-jaghnol (plate XXXIII, fig. 37). The tabar appear frequent in use.

The axe of the holy-men consists a chisel-like blade attached vertically to a long handle.[44] Its blade has resembled with that of the chakra-basola (Ibid; pl. XII, fig. 15; No. 30, p. 117); though both are different weapons.[45] Lastly, the axe similar to the carpenter's adze, is shown employed in breaking the doors of a fortress (Tarikh; pl. 69, Patna).

The shafts of the axes are simple, occasionally mounted with metallic caps or knobs etc; on either ends. The blades may also be ornamented.

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41. Plate LXXXIII, fig. 28.
42. Ibid; fig. 18.
43. Ibid; fig. 37.
44. Ibid; fig. 39.
45. Ibid; fig. 38.

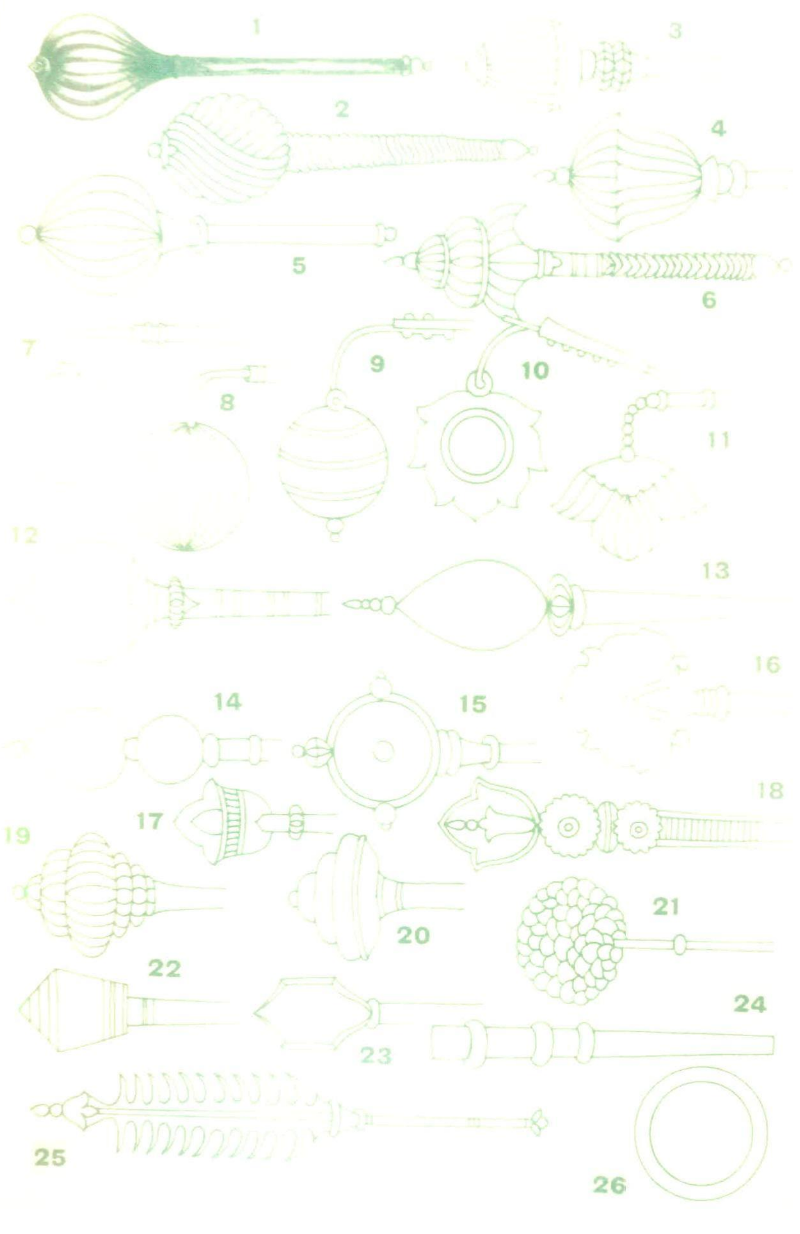


PLATE LXXXIV

The mace :

A rich variety of the maces (gurz; steingass, p. 1082) represented in the illustrations include the types mentioned in the Ain[46]. Simple in form is the shashpar or six flanged mace. Blochmann's interpretation in favour of the term Shash bur[47] (Shash = lung; bur = tearing); instead of the Shashpar seems incorrect. The figure of the mace shown in the Ain (plate XII, fig. 21; No. 26, p. 117) has flanges about its ball. The Shashpar can be defined as a mace consisting of six flanges on it (Shash = six steingass p. 744[48]; par = side, p. 239; Shashpar - an iron mace, p. 744b). Babur has also casually mentioned it in his Memoirs, as Shashpar (a six flanged mace). It is a short-handled club with a single head, almost round in shape.[49] The ball is mounted with a knob or pinnacle at the top. The piyazi is also a straight mace, its ball being large and spherical like an onion. It seems to be so called probably because of its shape.

The ball of a rugged-mace is made with foliated surfaces.[50] It has

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46. Ain (Bloch.); Vol. I, fig. 21,23, pl. xii; no. 25,26,27,29; p. 117.
47. Ibid; no. 21, p. XXIII.
48. He used to say that the arms there are; the Shash-par (six-flanged mace); the piyazi (rugged mace); the Kistin, the tabar zin (saddle-hatchet) and the baltu(battle-axe) all, if they strike, work only with what of them first touches, but the sword, if it touch, works from point to hilt". Baburnama, Vol.I; pp. 160-161 - (plate LXXXIV; fig.1).
49. Plate LXXXIV; figs. 3,12,13.
50. Baburnama, Vol. I; p. 160; plate LXXXIV; fig. 21.

many craggy, uneven projections. The *Kistin* has a longer handle to the end of which the ball is attached by a chain or a string like[51] the athelete's throwing hammer. The ball is generally round in shape similar that of the *shashpar*. It may be plain, or with flanges or transversal bands about it.[52] Casually the heads-trifoliated or cusped like an arch having eight-sides, are employed.[53] The *Kistin* and *piyazi* mentioned in the *Ain* (No. 27, 29; p. 117) have not been defined by Blochmann. He gives no figure of them and seems doubtful of the latter as to what it was.[54] The relative differences in the *shashpar*, *kistin* and *piyazi* are obvious from the *Memoirs* of Babur.[55]

The *gurz* mentioned in the *Ain*,[56] having three round balls similar to that of the *shashpar*; has escaped the view of the artists.

A few more types are known. These consist trifoliated, or six-bladed or eight-bladed heads. The last two are termed as *dhara* and *garguz* respectively, by Egorton.[57] The names of the maces provided with tri-foliated or five-bladed heads, remain to be ascertained. A few others are made with many globoular heads that is one head above the other. The heads towards the end are gradually smaller

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51. Plate LXXXIV, figs. 7-11.
52. *Ibid*.
53. *Ibid*; figs. 10-11.
54. *Ain* (Bloch.), Vol. I, p. XXIII.
55. *Baburnama*, Vol. I; p. 160.
56. *Ain* (Bloch.), Vol.I, fig.23, pl. XII, No. 25; p. 117.
57. *Illustrated Handbook of Indian Arms*, No. 468, p. 115 and No. 373-74; p. 118; plate LXXXIV; figs. 16, 23.

in size.[58] A thick stick tappering towards the lower-end, having two or three iron rings about the upper part of its shaft, is the simplest of the mace.[59] Rarely, two balls are attached vertically to a handle. Round or trifoliated or cusp shaped forms attached about the balls seems ornamental pieces. The maces have round or four-sides or foliated or basket-hilts, provided with a button at the end.

The Khar-i-mahi[60] :

The Khar-i-mahi is another weapon that may be taken with the mace. It consists of many steel spikes projecting on either sides of a handle. Abul Fazl has mentioned it.[61] It does not appear as a weapon of the Mughal soldier.

The bow and arrow :

The cavalry men carried the bow along with other arms. The soldiers are shown carrying it about them even when fighting with swords. These are all generally of two types. First of which is the takash-kaman.[62] It is a small slur-bow. It may be shaped in single

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58. Plate LXXXIV, figs. 19, 20.
59. Ibid; fig. 24.
60. Ibid; fig. 25.
61. Ain (Bloch.), Vol. I, fig. 37, pl. XIII; No. 44; p.118.
62. Plate LXXXII, figs. 10,11.

or double curve. Blochmann has defined it as a small slur-bow (Ain, Vol. I, pl. XII, fig. 13; p. 117). Steingass decribes it as a cross-bow (p. 288a).

Another bow termed as Kaman (Ibid, fig. 11; No. 12; p. 117) is larger than the former.[63] Lastly, a long bow shown in the illustrations,[64] is the Kamtha. It has been mentioned in the Ain (No. 39; p. 118). Blochmann describes the Kamtha and the Kaman-i-guroha (a pellet-bow). (pl. XIII; fig. 33, p. XXIV) as the similar objects. It seems wrong. The kamtha is a long bow made of bamboo (Shakspere, p. 2258); a common weapon of the Indian-warrior. It may also be shaped in single or double curve.[65] Babur speaks of three different types of the bows, translated by Mrs. Beveridge as slur-bow, easy-bow and stiff-bow. The Mughal soldiers have preferred slur-bows of the small size, convenient enough to be carried along with other arms. An unstrung bow is[66] rarely depicted on the folio 54 (Akb. C.B.). The grip is generally covered with cloth tightened with string. The noches called goshash[67] are casually decorated with the motiff of animal's head.

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63. Ibid; fig. 12.
64. Ibid; figs. 13, 14.
65. A slur bow: Baburnama, Vol. I; p. 143; an easy bow: Ibid; Vol. II; p. 420; a stiff bow: Ibid; p. 490.
66. Ain (Bloch.), Vol. I, fig. 32; pl. xiii.
67. Steingass; p. 1104.

The arrow; (tir).

Commonly arrows are of two types:[68] one having a leaf-shaped blade with a button at the base. The blade of the other has straight sides (or slightly curved inside) ending in points projecting on either sides a little above the base. It resembles a flying kite with an elongated head.[69] Others are almond shaped head and crescent shaped head.[70] The feathers are closely glued all about the base of the stem in the shape of a spandle.

The Quivers :

The Mughals carried bows in quivers hung across the griddle on the right side instead of on the shoulder.[71] The quiver is of two types: cylinderical, round but with one side straight and the other concaved smoothly from end to end or with two curves like two crescents. Their general appearance is that of a bucket.

A few quivers represented in the Razmnama Ms. (Jaipore); are long and cylinderical in form with the sides gradually narrow towards the bottom.[72] It is provided with straps for carrying over the shoulder. This does not seem the quiver of a Mughal soldier though frequently used by Indian-warriers and Greek-soldiers.

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68. Ibid, figs. 21-24.
69. Ibid; fig. 20.
70. Ibid; figs. 26, 27.
71. Ibid; figs. 28-31.
72. Ibid; figs. 28, 29.

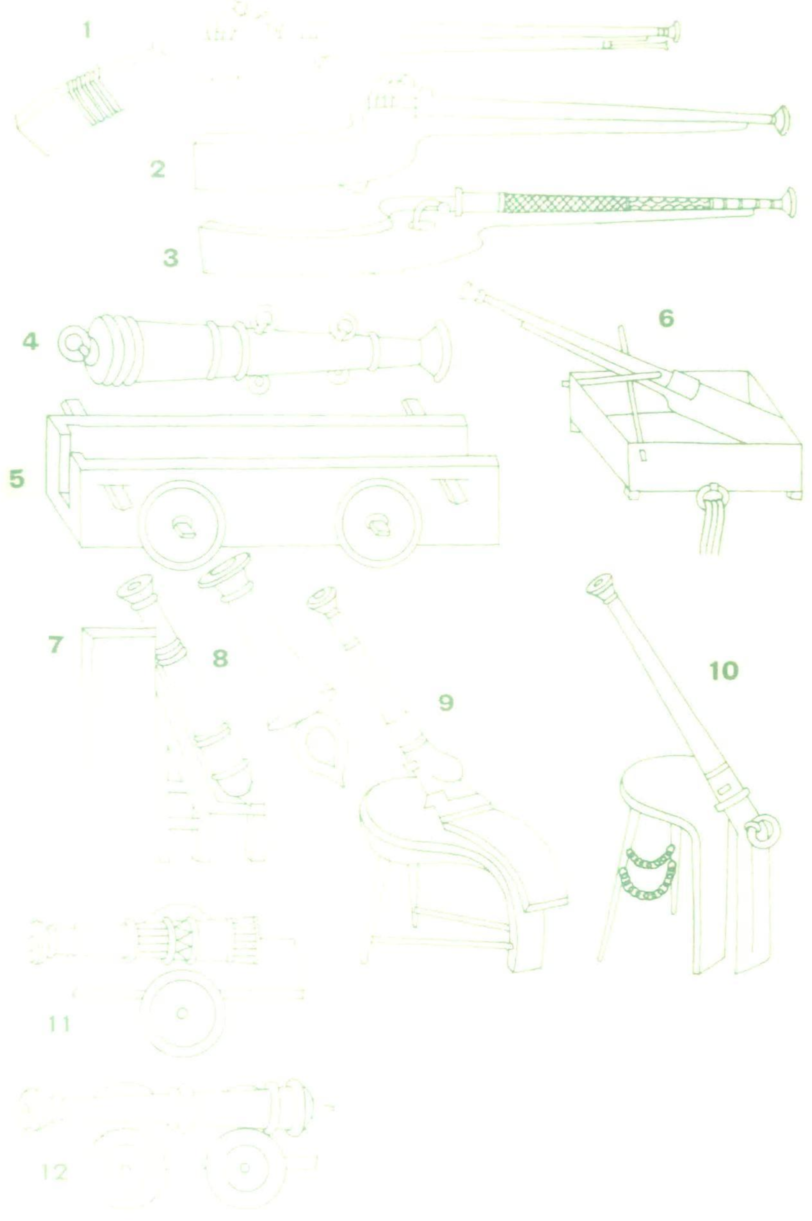


PLATE LXXXV

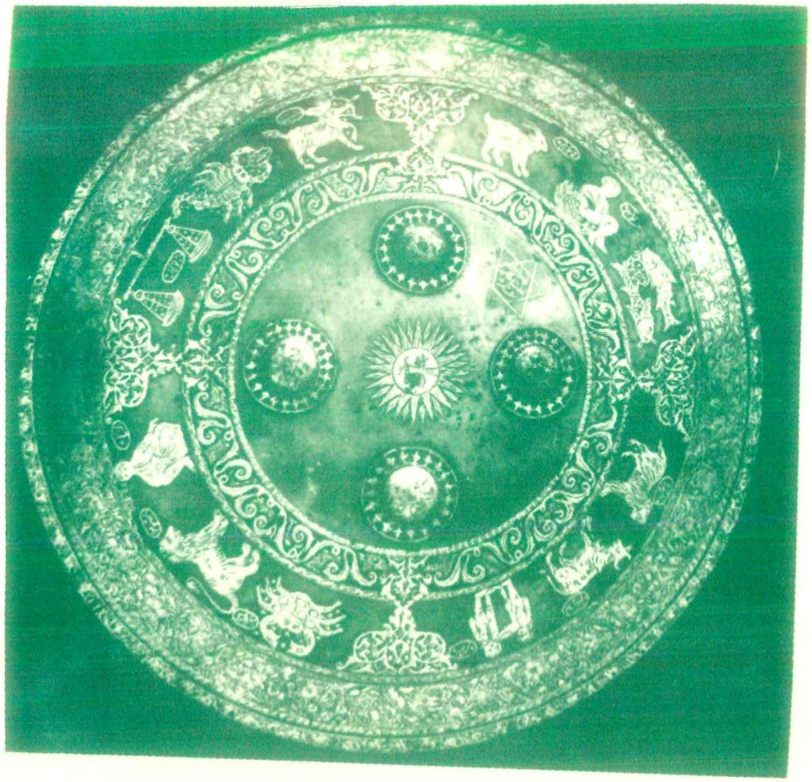


PLATE LXXXI (24)

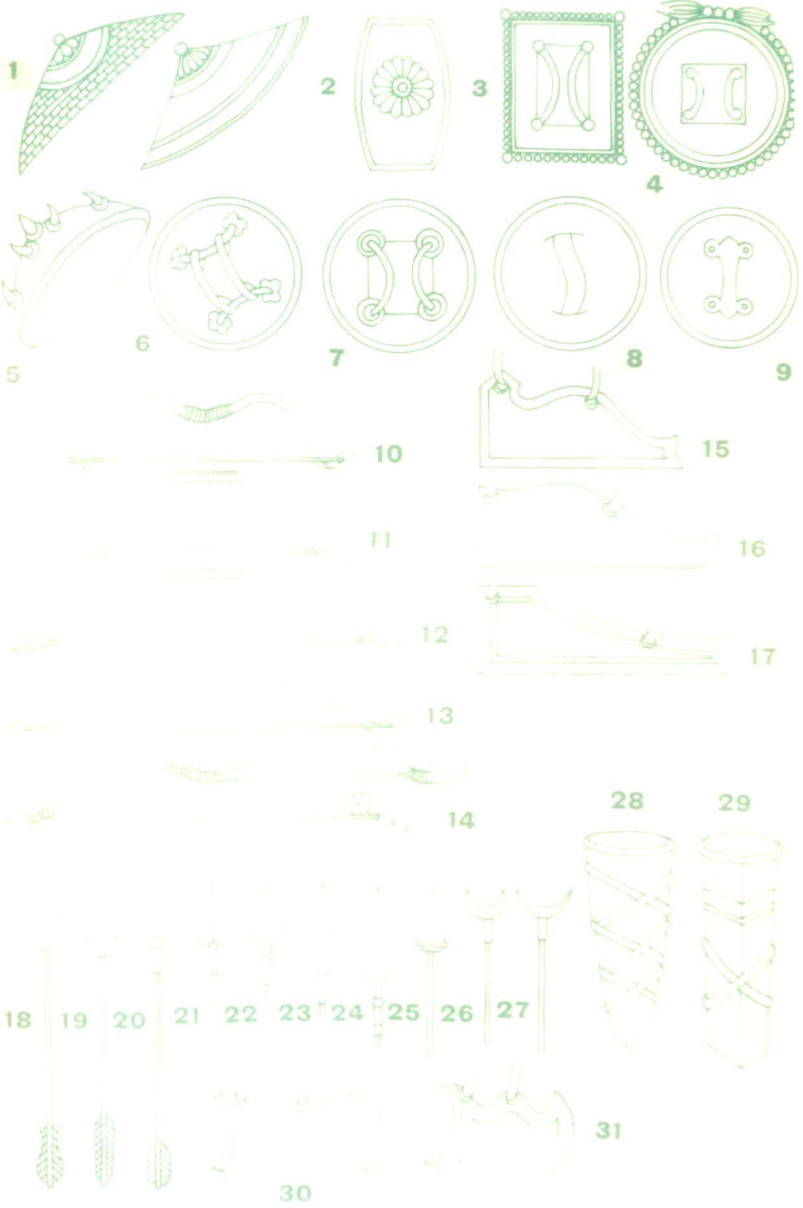


PLATE LXXXII

girdle to which these were hung by two or three strings. Evidently the wearer of the sword had grown accustomed to the inconvenience caused by this kind of loose attachment of the weapon with the body.

The Shield :

According to the Ain[10] there were four kinds of shields called as Sipar, dhal, pahri and khera. The last kind is not described in the Ain. Hence it is difficult to ascertain its form as this word is not found in the dictionary. The dhal and pahri are evidently Indian terms though these may be applied to the one depicted in the illustrations, on the basis of Blochmann's description.[11] The Sipar is the common iron shield, a plain disk, or concaved like the top of a funnel, pointed outside and provided with cross grips inside.[12] It seems proper to consider the term Sipar[13] as a general term for all kinds of shields. The decorative weave pattern shown, strongly recommends the identification of the shields as those made of cane (pahri).[14] The dhal has been described by Blochmann[15] just as another kind of shield though perhaps we should take it to be no more than the ordinary sloppy shield made of hide.[16] The first two are widely favoured by the

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10. Ain (Bloch.) Vol.I, fig. 41,42,43, pl. XIII; No. 47,48,49,50; p. 118.
11. Ibid.
12. Plate LXXXII figs. 6,7,8,9.
13. Steingass, p. 651.
14. Plate LXXXI, fig. 21; LXXXII, fig. 1.
15. Ain (Bloch.) Vol. I, No. 41; p. XXIV.
16. Plate LXXXI, fig. 22.

Mughals.

The shields made of steel or cane are generally ornamented with floral motifs. A pointed - plain or foliated cap is fixed, as a matter of course, at the top of the shield. Besides these, geometrical patterns are weaved in varying shades in the cane - shields. The iron-shields definitely leave a greater scope for ornamentation (plate LXXXI; fig. 23). Their sheets are plain or foliated, may or may not be studded with relief motifs. An iron-shield of Akbar, known to exist[17] is highly embellished with the signs of sun. The shields holded by the guards may be ornamented with the fluff of Yak-tails or small bells attached to its circumference.[18] Rarely, we come across of an iron shield provided with small prongs curved like a horn (Razm; pl. 43, Jaipore).[19] Hide shields are plain.

Generally the shields are round, though square, rectangular, hexagonal and elliptical shields come to our view but rarely.[20] A folio of the Tarikh (Patna) has shown a long elliptical shield with straight ends.[21] That is similar to those of the Greeks. The soldiers slunged their shields on their back by cross strings fastened on the chest. In the battle field the sword's man held it in the left hand. For the grip, one or two loops are provided inside the shield.[22]

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17. Ibid; No. 24; Encyclopedia of Word Art; Vol.I, pl.454.
18. Plate LXXXII, figs. 3,4.
19. Tarikh; f. 131b (Patna); Akb; pl. 63 (V.A.).
20. Plate LXXXII, figs. 2,3,4.
21. Ibid. fig. 2; Tarikh; f. 65b (Patna).
22. See F.N. 12.

The dagger :

Only three types of daggers are shown in the illustrations.[23] The commoner type has a single leaf-shaped, curved blade, broad near the hilt and pointed at the end. A cross like button attaches to the pommel which resembles a small solid ball. The other consists of a flat triangular blade provided with cross-bar grip. The two types are called in the Ain[24] as Khanjar and Jamdhar respectively. The latter is a Hindu Katar.[25]

A dagger made with a blade similar to that of the jamdhar and the hilt like a Khanjar is called Quillon or Cinquedea-dagger.[26] Irvine has described it as peshqabs.[27] The peshqabs is not given in the Ain. The daggers are tucked under the girdle belt.

Their hilts are also simple made without the protective devices known as Kunckle bow. The quillons are small and straight or slightly curved. The ecussion may or may not be there. In the latter case the blade is directly connected with the hilt. Grip is designed with a pommel mounted with a knob - foliated or round. The hilts of jamdhar are always straight projecting inwards and provided with two cross bars.

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23. Plate LXXXI, figs. 1,2,3.
24. Ain (Bloch.). Vol. I, figs. 4,5, pl. xii; no. 4,5; p. 117.
25. Britanica; Vol. 21, p. 693.
26. Ibid.
27. "It is a pointed one-edged dagger, having generally a thick straight back to the blade, and a straight handle without a guard; though at times the blade was curved, or even double curved". The army; p. 88.

made of a single piece of leather. The back of the foot is supported by an elongated attachment, the flap generally long enough to reach the calf mussels.[54]

This kind of shoe is worn by common people and attendants. All these are pointed and curved upwards, sometimes ending into a long pointed flap turned inwards.[55] The shoe worn by the emperor in riding astonishingly resembles most modern types of today. It is a one piece shoe, pointed, heeled high and fitting the whole foot around and below the ankle joint. A pointed _guragabi_ like shoe with a heel and high back is worn by the nobles.[56] The designs may vary. This is also one piece shoe.

The slippers[57] are all boat shaped with a variety of embellishments and designs or the upper. Some have cross flaps or decorative buttons or even geometrical patterns. The point of the toe is sometimes bedecked a ball of fur attached like a knob.

These are all gent wears. Ladies are mostly shown bare feet,[58] except in a few instances where royal ladies are shown riding or during[59]

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54. _Ibid_; figs. 5-11; 15.
55. _Ibid_; fig. 1.
56. _Ibid_; fig. 2-4.
57. _Ibid_; figs. 18-29.
58. _Tarikh_; ff. 40b, 284a (Patna); _Akb_; pls. 8,79 (V.A.).
59. _Tarikh_; ff. 8b, 12a, 40b, 284a (Patna); _Akb_; f. 143b (C.B.); pl. 9 (V.A.).

expedition. It is a closed slipper of a simple kind but probably embroidered. The heel is bare.

The various kinds of footwears must have been called by different names which however are not traceable to us. From the *Ain*[60] we only know that the shoes which called *paj-afzar* was renamed by Akbar as *charan-dharan*.

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60. *Ain* (Bloch.), Vol. I, p. 96, line 27.

(b) ARMS AND ARMOUR

As almost all the major military exploits of Akbar are represented in the illustrations under review, it is possible to study the arms and armour in some detail. These miniatures are however of necessity massive. The items have had to be drawn on accommodative scales necessitating a drastic deminution of the figures which call upon magnifying aids to enable us to distinguish between the apparently similar forms or to determine the material which some of the items might have been actually made off.

Akbar's arms included artillery besides the traditional weapons used by the cavalry and infantry. The former has been discussed at some length in the chapter of Mechnical Gadgets and little remains to be said about it here. As far the latter kind of arms, the types and forms are more or less the same as described by Abul Fazl in the Ain[1], though a few items have escaped that author's attention.[2] It is also difficult to make a distinction between the arms and armour of the Mughal army and those of his opponents in or outside India. The artists while showing the scenes of frays do not seem to make any such distinction. Even the designs on the uniforms of the enemies whether Rajput, Afghan or the Central Asians are similarly treated.

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1. Ain (Bloch.), Vol. I, pp.117-119; pls. XII-XIV.
2. Plate LXXXI, figs. 11,12 (Patta); Ibid, fig. 1(Quillon dagger); plate LXXXIII, fig. 28 (pole-axe); plate LXXXVII, figs. 13-18 (breast-plate and back-plate); Ibid, figs. 7-12(leg-guard); Ibid, fig. 4 (arm-plate); plate LXXXVIII, fig. 5 (chest armour); Ibid, figs. 14, 15 (elephant's body armour).

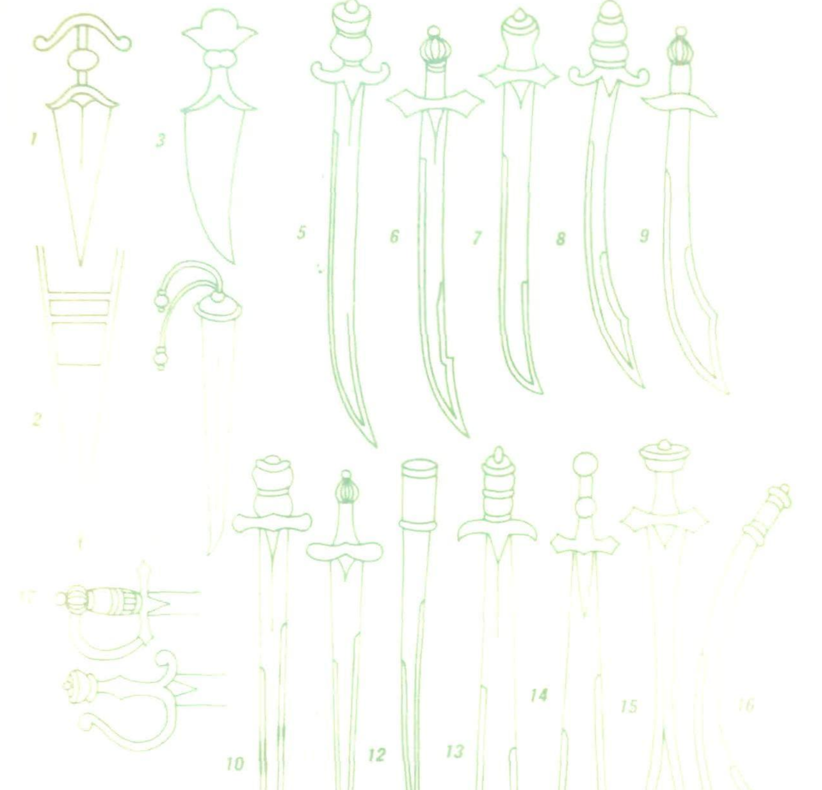


PLATE LXXXI

The armoured elephants appear here and there with hardly any evidence of the side on which they might have been employed - the direction of their confrontation being no clue whatsoever. In these circumstances we can at best make a general assessment of the arms and armour depicted in the illustrations.

The Sword

The chief weapon of war is still the sword. The archery and the artillery serving comparatively a limited purpose: that of mounting, dispersing attack from distance; in the decisive hours of clash and in hand to hand fighting at close range nothing could be as effective as the sword. Varying forms of it are represented in the illustrations. Broadly these can be classified into two groups: curved sword and straight sword.

The former called by the Arabic name of Shamsheer[3] - smoothly curved and pointed at the end, is the commonest (plate LXXXI; fig. 5). It is purely a cutting weapon and has only one edge while the size is enough to keep adversery at a safe distance. Its five variations appear in the taswirs. (a) The blade is heavier and slightly curved at the end (Ibid, fig. 5). (b) It is similar to the former with the difference of a depression near the false edge (Ibid, fig. 6). (c) Variation of the same - curved, single edged but heavier at the forward section than near the hilt. The upper curve of the blade is more or less

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3. Ain (Bloch.) Vol. I, fig. 1, pl. XII; No. 1, p. 117.

parallel to the lower one ending in a pointed projection at a length of more than two third and then curving steeply towards the point at the end (Ibid, fig. 7). (d) Scimitar: The curve of its blade is deeper than the former. This is a weapon used by Persians, Turks and Arabs (Ibid, fig. 8). (e) Flachion: Its blade is short and curving on each of its surfaces equally to a forward section heavier than that near the hilt. The last two are less favoured by the Mughal soldier (Ibid; fig. 9).

Straight Sword :

The dhup : It is a straight sword. Both the edges of the balde are parallel to one another ending in a triangular point. The blade is broader than that of the shamsheer and appears to be heavier (Ibid, fig. 10).[4] Irvine is of the opinion that the straight sword was a mark of royal previllege, but no such distinction is however evident from the illustrations wherein common soldiers are also shown weilding it.[5]

The patta : It is a long, light, narrow bladed sword, sharp like a rapier with a gauntlet hilt; used for thrusting with. This weapon does not find its way in the Mughal army and its use remains restricted

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4. "It was considered an emblem of sovereignty and high dignity, and was therefore displayed on state occasions being carried in a gorgeous covering by a man who held it upright before his master". The Army of the Indian Mughals; p. 76.

5. Razm; pls. 43,62,65 (Jaipore); Tarikh; ff. 12a,14a,43b,66a,69a, 73a,101a,140b,147b,170b,227b,230a,337b(Patna); Akb; ff. 157b,225, 226b (C.B.); pls. 18,20,36,41,63,98,110.

among the fights of the holy-men (Ibid; figs. 11,12).[6]

The Khanda : It is a double edged weapon with straight blade, gradually narrow towards the hilt (Ibid; fig. 13). The Khanda is an old Indian sword. Three of its varations are represented which as a matter of principle consists of long, heavy blades, narrow towards the hilt and gradually projecting outward so as to form a braod false edge with a conical end. The blades are straight or slightly curved inside in the middle (Ibid; fig. 14). Lastly its blade may be made leaf-shaped with a sharp point (Ibid; fig. 15).

Generally the hilts are simple without protective devices known as the branch, pas d'ane or annau etc. These are smoothly curved and rounded above and slightly curved inwards at the lower edge. Casually, it has a button and a pommel, the like of which may be observed in Arabian swords. The Quillons are also simple, straight or slightly curved at the ends - knobbed or pointed. The blades are attached firmly between pointed ecussions. Rarely, we come across the hilts provided with knuckle bow.[8] It could be on either sides of the hilt.[9]

The scab-bard which may have been made of leather were sported by the

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6. Tarikh, f. 322a (Patna).
7. Ain (Bloch.) Vol. I, fig. 20, pl. XII; No. 2, p. 117.
8. Razm; pls. 15,122 (Jaipore); Tarikh; ff. 110b, 148(Patna).
9. Akb; pl. 15 (V.A.).

very long. The border of it is made of fur. This peculiar article does not seem to be indigenous and may have been either of some wooden cloth or most probably skin.

Carpets

The carpet is a necessary element of all indoor and camp scenes. The king's throne is invariably shown set on a carpet. Besides every place where the king may be expected to sit is covered with costly carpets - for instance pavilions, decks of ships, dining halls, rafts, diwans, floor of palaces etc. etc.

However most of the carpets display so close similarity in design[50] that one is struck with the sense of monotony. The carpets consist of a broad border in golden colour with running patterns. The background is almost invariably in the Persian blue. The designs consist of running floral pattern with a labyrinth of fine twigs and small star like flowers. No other object is introduced in this pattern to relieve the monotony, though perhaps one would seldom fail to be impressed by the wholesomeness and uniformity which carries its own appeal.

A comparison with the carpets shown in the illustrations with those

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50. Tarikh; ff. 5a, 20a, 40b, 72a, 89b, 90a, 104a, 118a, 123b, 126b, 131b, 140b, 166b, 178b, 182a, 205b, 206b, 246b, 260b, 284a, 328b (Patna); Diwan; ff. 19, 30,247 (Rampur); Akb; ff. 1, 6b, 27b, 54, 147b, 168b, 201, 263b (C.B.); pls. 8,9,27,32,50,52, 75,78,79,86,88,94,96,113, 114 (V.A.).



PLATE Lxxx

of Akbar's own times as referred in the Ain would not be without interest. The latter are eloquent examples of Akbar's fondness for the innovation and variety. We are told that the royal karkhanas and public manufacturing centres were producing such fine varieties that the carpets of "Iran and Turan are no more thought off".[51] Some of the carpets preserved in the museums as those used by Akbar display remarkable degree of originality.[52] Figure of animals, geometrical patterns, utensil, motives, architectural designs, animal fights, hunting scenes, the Chinese dragon, mythical objects and a variety of floral running designs, all are made use of in imazing combinations and colours. This contrast is intriging, though the question whether the painters were simply repeating the carpet designs for the lack of imagination or a matter of convenience is a matter of conjecture.

Pai - afzar (shoe)

A striking variety of footwears is found in the illustrations, though this variety is confined to the designs of the fore part or the upper rather than in the cut. There are atleast 29 types of footwears.[53] These may be broadly divided as shoes and slippers. The The general form of the shoe is that the upper of the forefoot is

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51. Ain (Bloch.), Vol. I, p. 57.

52. Plate LXXVIII: Fragment of an animal carpet. About 4 by 3½ feet (1.0065 by 1.29 M.) Third quarter of 16th. century; The Textile Museum, Washington, D.C.; Plate LXXIX: A landscape carpet; 7 feet 11½ inches by 5 feet 1 inch(2.227 by 1.750 m.), Late sixteenth century; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

53. Plate LXXX.

voils and silks; and as such these must have been used only in the summer season. The winter clothes were differently fashioned and named.

Farji

The farji may be called the winter equivalent of the jama with which it resembles except for the difference that it opens in front instead of on the side.[14] It could be made with turned collars. A full farji is wadded with one sier of cotton[15] and at the waist it is tied with the katzeb.

Gadar

The gadar seems to be a very costly winter garment. It has been called by Blochmann as the Indian fur-coat.[16] It is longer than the farji and has a border of fur running over the opening sides which is in the front.[17] The gadar may be made with full or half sleeves and is wadded with two and half seirs of cotton.[18]

Qaba

The Qaba was also a winter garment but it has come down to be known generally as a gown worn over the main dress and has been associated with the priest-hood. No wonder that it has been treated as a sign of dignity as well as learning. The Qaba is wadded with one seir of

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14. Ibid. figs. 1,2.
15. "It was worn over the jāma (Coat), and requires 5 gaz 12 girih stuff; 5 gaz 5 girih lining; 14 girih bodering; 1 s. cotton; 1 m. silk". Ain (Bloch.); Vol. I, p. 95.
16. Ibid, p. 95, line 18.
17. Plate LXXVI, fig. 1.
18. Ain (Bloch.); Vol. I, p. 95, line 20.
19. Ibid; line 15.

cotton and was worn over the farji[19] or the jama[20]. It may be full or half sleeved. It is long enough to cover the body upto the ankles. It is open in the front and has no laces but has binding all along its front[21]. The Qaba was generally made of costly cloth. It was worn by ladies also[22].

Neemtana

It is a kind of waistcoat or a jacket, as suggested by the term itself which is an compound of the Persian words neem and tana that is half body-wear. It was fashioned just like the jama but it had no skirt, only the upper portion of the vest[23]. The neemtana seems to have been the skirt of the poorer people. It is possible however that the well-to-do also wore it under the jama. The illustrations however do not show such an instance. It was bound at the waist by a belt of cloth similar to the Katzeb.

Attendant's tail-coat

The attendants of the Mughal court were expected to wear special uniforms. This included a tail-coat, a skirt or a shirt, short trousers and in some cases socks and turbans[24]. The tail-coat is an

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19. Ibid; line 15.

20. Tarikh; ff. 126b,131b,134a,136b,166b,182a,186a,206b,252a(Patna); Diwan; f. 30 (Rampur); Akb; ff. 1, 27b,49b,54,57,143b,201(C.B.); pls. 9,20,28,75,81 (V.A.).
21. Plate LXXVI, fig. 2.
22. Tuzuk; f. 13 (B.M.).
23. Plate LXXV, fig. 4.
24. Plate LXXVI, fig. 3.

interesting combination of the neemtana and jama. It is tied to a side with strings. The back part is however long reaching a little below the knee. The helm ended at the middle of thighs. It was stiched like the neemtana and the back-tail was joined to it afterwards so that about the hips the helm of the neemtana remained hidden under it.

The izar

It is the prototype to the tight paijama of today which is called churidar but basically different in cutting and general appearance. It was loose fitting to the legs and was tied at the waist by a belt of cloth run through gradually increasing the originally restricted length.[25]

The izars of the poorer people are depicted in the drawers of a shorter size. The legs are cut above or below the knee but tight fitting at the extremity.[26] The portion of the thighs was left loose. The attendants of the king are also shown in similar izars worn below the tail-coat. The izar of the ladies does not seem to be at all different from those of the gents.

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25. Costumes of; p. 46.

26. Tarikh; ff. 9a,14a,23b,28b,40b,42b,58b,59b,60b,118a,143b, 252a (Patna); Diwan; ff. 147, 284 (Rampur); Akb; ff. 1, 25, 155b, 157b, 248(C.B.); pls. 6,17,21,24,40,45,46,73,82,83,86, 114 (V.A.).



PLATE LXXVII

The *dastar*

No single dress was perhaps worn in such of a variety of fashions as the turban was worn. It was not only a head gear but also a sign of dignity and respect. To go out bare headed was considered by the gentry as disgraceful. The turban cloth was specially woven with very fine silk or cotton thread.[27] It was folded lengthwise and twisted in the form of a thick rope and wrapped on a small or long *kulah* fitting the size of the head. The length of the turban cloth varied a great deal. However it was long enough to suffice two, three or more foldings of several loops each. Jamila Brij Bhushan reckons a turban cloth to be fifteen to twenty yards in length and nine to twelve inches in breadth.[28] The loops were set in close arrangement and in changing direction: Crosswise, circular or oblique.[29]

The Crown of the king was made up of cross-loops without a loose tail end at the back or on the top. It was bedecked with jewels and plumed tastefully by a feather or some beautiful motif. This was the plainest kind of turban but massive, beautiful and majestic.[30] In the latter period the style of the royal *dastar* appears as *nas-taliq*-style.

Dastar of nobles were of different shapes and apparently not so

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27. "A kind of shawl, called *māyān*, is chiefly woven there; it consists of silk and wood mixed. Both are used for *chīras* (turbans), *fotas* (loin bands), etc." *Ain*(Bloch.); Vol.I, p. 98.
28. *The Costumes and Textile of India*; p. 40.
29. Plate LXXVII.
30. *Ibid*; figs. 1-8.

plain. Often these were tied so as to leave a short tail end just above the crown or infront like a triangular crest or a cock's tail at the back.[31] Babur[32] has mentioned three types of dastars of nobles, apparently distinguished by the number of loops. These are called as sih pech, char pech and dastar pech. The last one could contain upto nineteen loops.[33]

A wider variety of turbans[34] was used by the commoners which were plain and simple. The royal attendants had prescribed forms in accordance with their special functions. The royal pages moving in the vanguard of the king with a battle-axe sported a long kalaghi resembling in the ear of corn originating from the back of the forehead. The turban had two stripes laterly binding the two of its folds one almost flat covering the forehead upto the middle of the head and the other covering the back and parabolic in shape. The temples dividing the two folders remained bare.[35]

The Kulah

Besides the kulah worn with the turban the common people used kulahs or caps independently also. These were beautifully fashioned and

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31. Ibid; fig. 14.
32. Baburnama, Vol. I, pp. 14-15, line 19-24; p. 258, line 12-15.
33. Plate LXXVII, fig. 14.
34. Ibid. figs. 17-28.
35. Ibid. figs. 29-32.

made generally of lamb skin.[36] Casually a feather was tucked to a side. The dome was usually very high and curved elegently either in the front or the back side.[37] The base was bordered with fur or probably felt.[38] The dupatta which seems to have been a purely Indian dress, seems to have been adopted by the Mughals. The fashion of wearing dupatta as a head gear is evident from a few illustrations.[39] Shawls or anyother long sheet of cloth could be thrown on the head and wrapped around the body. In this respect it could be identical in function or form with the dupatta. Instead it, the fashionable head wear of the ladies was a high-top cap.[40] The top was slaunted towards the back which was shorter and curved inside a little than the front.[41] A piece of fine silk was sometimes attached to it. Sometimes the backside was extened into a flap below the base line so as to cover the back of the neck. The caps of the royal ladies were adorned with pearls and jewels almost all over in beautiful patterns.[42] But even simpler kinds of caps of ladies were generally embroidered.

The Katzeb

The katzeb or the cloth belt tied around the waist over the jama was

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36. Babur has mentioned in his Memoirs of "black lamb skin cap"; Baburnama, Vol.I,p.258,line 12-15; Tarikh; ff. 2b,4b,9a,14a, 46b,51a,72a,73a,252a (Patna); Diwan; f.19(Rampur); Akb; ff. 148, 153(C.B.); pl. 111 (V.A.).
37. Plate LXXVII figs. 33-36.
38. Ibid.
39. Tarikh; ff. 7b,10b,40b,72a,193a,241b,284a(Patna); Akb; f. 25 (C.B.); pls. 8,9(V.A.).
40. Plate LVII.
41. Tarikh; ff. 7b,10b,72a,241b(Patna); Akb; pls. 79,97(V.A.).
42. Tarikh; ff. 12a, 40b,72a,284a(Patna); Akb; f. 25(C.B.); pls. 8, 79, (V.A.).

both a necessity and a decoration. It was made of fine silk or cotton cloth. It was folded breathwise and was of a length enough for a round about the waist and to make a slip knot with its ends hanging upto the knee. The katzeb could be plain, laced, embroidered, brocaded or painted in dye colours. Later on Golkunda became the centre of specialising in the manufacture of katzeb.[43]

Shawl

A woolen or cotton sheet folded lengthwise and probably starched with or without a border wrapped about the shoulders and one of its end hanging from the lifted forearm is what goes by the name of shawl. Usually the sheet was specially made for the purpose in special sizes. The breath was just enough to admit four lengthwise folds. Later on Akbar had ordered shawls to have only two instead of four folds whereupon it was called doshala.[44] This emperor also encouraged shawl industry resulting in the growth of Kashmir and Lahore as important manufacturing centres.[45]

A very costly variety of the shawl was the tus shawl. This seems to be the same or the fore-runner of the shahtus now manufactured

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43. Costumes of; p. 32.

44. Ain (Bloch.), Vol.I, p. 98; The Costumes of; p. 32.

45. "His Majesty encourages, in every possible way, the manufacture of shawls in Kashmir. In Lāhore also there are more than a thousand workshops". Ain (Bloch.), Vol. I, p. 98.

widely in Kashmir from the wool of meture camel and sheep foetuses. The tus was very thin, soft and extraordinarily worn. The natural colours of the wool from which it was manufactured were black, white or red. Generally people used it without changing its natural shade. Akbar ordered it to be dyed into various shades.[46]

Another variety of the shawl is alcha, also called tarhdar. Before the time of Akbar it was of two or three colours: black, white or mixed. Akbar got it coloured in various shades.[47]

Babur speaks of another variety of shawl called as qab.[48] It was a square sheet and was bestowed as a token of distinction and rank by the king on the nobles. It is difficult however to spot its representation in the illustrations.

In the miniatures one generally comes across a transparent soft sheet of very thin cloth worn in a casual manner by the king.[49] Its significance and nature is not clear but it could have been of various colours.

On folio 163 of the Tuzuk-i-Baburi (B.M.), Babur has been depicted with a wrapper slipped over the back. It does not appear to be

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46. Ibid; p. 97.
47. Ibid.
48. Baburnama, Vol. II, p. 527, line 20.
49. Tuzuk; pl. 8 (Moscow); ff. 199, 305 (B.M.).

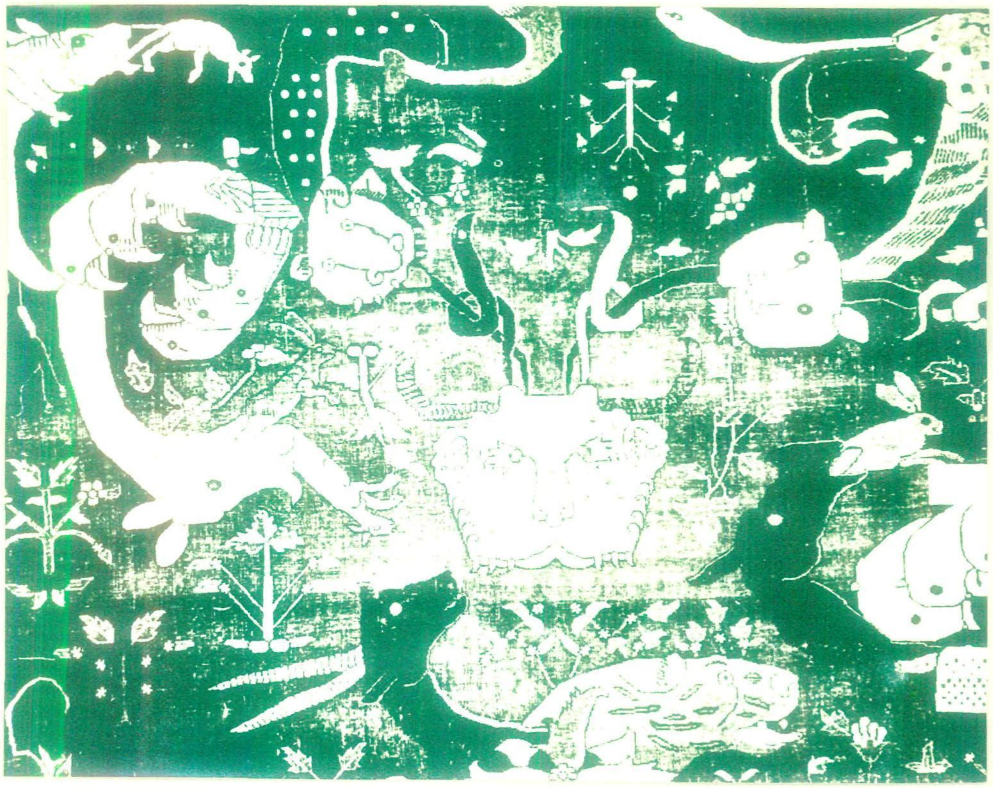


PLATE LXXVIII



PLATE LXXIX

CHAPTER V :

MATERIAL-CULTURE AS REPRESENTED IN THE ILLUSTRATIONS

(A) CLOTHES, DRAPERIES AND SPREADABLES

The illustrations contain a panoroma of rich dresses which an Indian writer writing on the costumes represented in Mughal pictorial art would consider to be helpful in giving an insight into the course of the Mughal fashions.[1] Unfortunately the descriptions of the various clothes depicted are inadequately found in contemporary sources, marking the identification of their names very difficult. The *Ain* contains a list of the articles of Akbar's wardrobe.[2] It is also reported there that the king had changed the names of a few dresses drawing on Hindi usages and, as having made some minor alterations in the forms.[3] Thus the word *jama* was replaced by *sar-liagti*, *izar* (drawers) became *yar-pirahan*, *nimtana* was called by the name of *tanzeb*, *patgat* was adopted for *fauta*, *chitragupita* was preferred to *burqa*, *kulah* was given the name of *sis shobha*, *mubaf* (hair-ribbon) was changed for *kesghan*, the loin-cloth called *patka* assumed the nomenclature of *katzeb*, *shal* was replaced by *parmnaram* and *paey-afzar*, that is the shoe, acquired the descriptive name of *charan-dharan*. The Hindi equivalents help us to some extent in determining at least the uses of these clothes, the Persian names

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1. *Constumes of India and Pakistan*; p. 48.
2. *Ain* (Bloch.), Vol. I, pp. 94-98.
3. *Ibid*; p. 96.

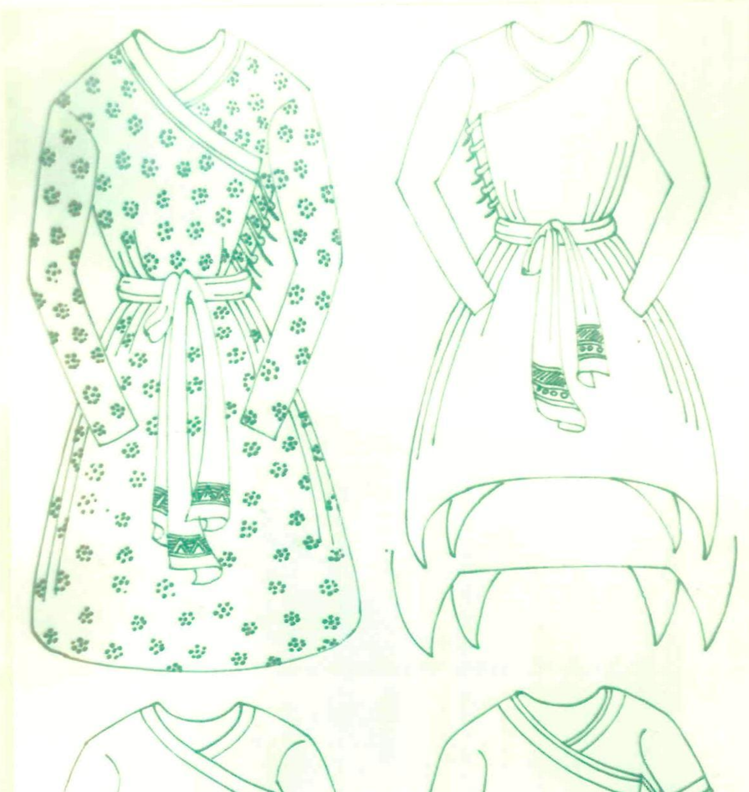


PLATE LXXIV

of which must have been traditionally in use. Abul Fazl has also given a descriptive list of some other clothes with their Persian nomenclature. However the specifications given by him relate mainly to the nature of the material and the costs involved in their production rather than to their actual forms and uses. Blochmann has been mislead in his interpretation of this inadequate description and has confused the nature and uses of some clothes.[4] For instance there is no indication whatsoever of what Abul Fazl has called as dutahi, the shah-ajida and the suzani as being wearables. On the other hand the lines lends themselves to the interpretation that these were parts of the royal bedding or plain sheets to be wrapped about.[5] These names have survived to this day without any alteration in their forms and uses.

Moreover the Ain enumerates only a few of the clothes - the need to be brief being the author's excuse for the omission. Any assessment such as this will therefore lack the basis of definitive means of identification. While using the Ain as the main source, our investigation will inevitably depend on pooling the resources of usages now current, dictionary definitions and common sense.

Jama

Of the four main outfits, the jama appears to be the commonest.

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4. Ibid; p. 95.
5. Ain (Sir Sayyid Edition); p. 72.

It was the coat of the Mughal times and must have been worn over some sort of a shirt or half-shirt which however had no occasion to be depicted in the illustrations. It is generally tight fitting from the neck to the waist but was long enough to cover the body upto a little above the ankles.[6] As a matter of rule the Mughal dresses do not exhibit the use of a high or a turned collar. Instead they were cut round at the neck and the edges were sewed up. It has full tight sleeves. The front is double-brested. The upper span crossed over the chest from left to right and was tied below the arm-pit with laces.[7] It was made from seven yards and seven girahs[8] of cloth. It appears that only special kinds of cloths were used for making a jama. The richer people decorated it with embroidery and gold thread work on the borders. The Katzeb which was a cloth-belt was invariably tied around the waist with a fine knot - the ends hanging to some length on a side. According to Abul Fazl Akbar ordered the jama to be tied on the left side instead of right.[9] In the illustrations however we met both of these kinds irrespective of any distinction of status. The term takauchiya seems to have existed in India from before. It appears to have been the name of the Indian coat resem-

6. Plate LXXIV, fig. 1.
7. Ibid.
8. "It requires seven yards and seven girihs, and five girihs for the binding". Ain (Bloch.), Vol. I, p. 94.
9. "Formerly it had slits in the skirt, and was tied on the left side; his Majesty has ordered it to be made with a round skirt and to be tied on the right side". Ibid.

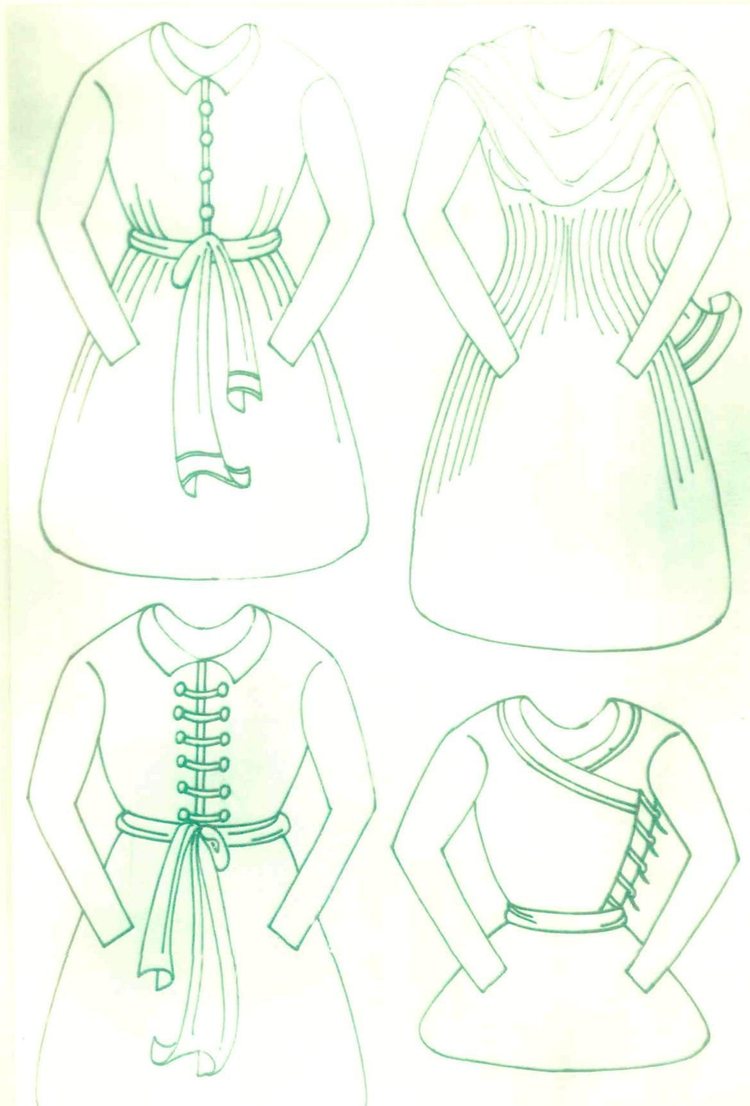


PLATE Lxxv

bling the jama but having four or six conical ends in the skirt.[10] With very slight variations the jama continued to remain as the main outfit of gentlemanly dress until very recent times. The angarkha which seems to be a name of Awadhian origin is the final form that the jama acquired.

The Peshwaz

It is a long flowing robe covering the body upto the ankles. Abul Fazl describes it briefly as being like the jama but opening in the front.[11] According to the lexicographers[12] it is the special wear of women which seems to be correct. The peshwaz is still used as the main costume of the female dancers of kathak style though it is possible that it may have undergone slight variation eversince. The peshwaz could be made without neck and is tied somewhere on the middle of the chest rather loosely.[13] It has full tight sleeves. At times it could be made without strings.

The jama and the peshwaz were standard coats used without any over garment or gown. Moreover these were summer dresses. We have no evidence of a peshwaz or a jama being wadded. On the other hand they seem to have been made of very thin cloth probably muslins,

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10. Plate LXXIV, figs. 2,3.
11. Ain (Bloch.), Vol. I; p. 94.
12. Duncan Forbes; p. 226(a).
13. Plate LXXV, fig. 3.



PLATE Lxxvi

treatment of animal figures - a tiger drawn in the centre and birds on either sides; rest of the composition reamins Persian in style. The former proclaims the Mughal's originality and character. In the other instance the unit displays birds perched on the branches of plants. Their naturalistic representation affiliates the art with the Mughal Qalam. In the Shamyiana's borders, however geometrical designs are given preference to floral patterns. The borders being narrower are treated differently. Shamyiana's borders are bold than those of the carpets. The dominent colour in them is also the Persian blue. A few are painted in crimson red also.

An original expansion in decoration may be seen on plate LXXXVI (Razm; Jaipore).[18] A miniature composed of human figures in the foreground and landscape in the background is employed to decorate the space. The miniature is enclosed with several bands of lines surrounded with a broad margin of floral border. This miniature may itself be taken as a painting. The use of a painting for the spot decoration seems the innovation of the artist. We have not met with such example elsewhere.

The tents generally go with the Shamyianas. These may be plain or decorated on the outside or both inside and outside. Generally tents

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18. This illustration is attributed in the name of the artists : Tara (Tarah) and Ramdas(amal). In the other works of these artists in this manuscript or elsewhere, such unique adjustment of a miniature in decoration is not seen. In the present example it may be taken as accidental.

are decorated with running patterns. Spot designs are rare. In the spot decoration - flowerpots full of bunches of flowers and leaves or a cypress tree embraced by another tree having five petalled flowers (*ibid* -D) could be drawn as units and repeated alternatly.[19] Composition of the latter unit is directly derived from the Chinese art. The *qanats* (curtain used as wall with the tents and *Shamyianas*) are also decorated with similar patterns.

Insignias, arms and armours decoration

Arms, armours and insignias are generally provided with decorative motifs. Among the insignias the *Sayaban*, royal umbrella and thrones are embellished with floral designs of the type observed in the carpets. One comes across of varying forms of *alam's* head wherein motifs of utensils, animal heads, dragons and human faces find out their way.[20] Spot decoration occur very rarely. The *alams* are wrapped in the fine linen with prints resembling those of costumes.

The arms - sheaths, bow-cases, quivers and shields etc. - are also done in floral designs or the spot or running type as in the costumes.[21]

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19. *Akb*; f. 201 (C.B.).
20. Plate XCI.
21. *Diwan*; f. 147(bowcase) Rampur; *Akb*; ff. 187b(bow case), 188 (Shield), 226b(bow case) C.B. pls. 6(Shield),10(Shield),11(Shield), quiver), 18(shield), 25(shield,bow case),31(shield,quivers), 41 (shield, bow case),42(quivers),47(shield),63(bow case),68(shield), 97(shield,bow case),98(Shield, bowcase),100(bowcase,shield),103 (bowcase,shield),108(bowcase,shield), 116 (Shield), V.A.,*Tarikh*; ff. 6b(quiver and shield), 8b(bowcase), 11b(shield), 15a(bowcase), 24a(bowcase),24b(bowcase),28b(quiver and bowcase),48b(shield), 55b(shield),57b(shield),65b(bowcase),110b(shield bowcase),147b (bowcase),154b(shield)(Patna);*Razm*; pls.53(shield),54(shield), 56(shield),60(shield),82(shield),108(bowcase),117(shield),136 (shield),142(shield), 144(bowcase and shield) (Jaipore).

Freehand work is also met with casually on the shields but commonly on the armours. The designs are bolder, drawn in horizontal or vertical stripes, cheque patterns with nail-head spots, crosses, small circles or flowers on points of intersection or in the blank of squares.[22]

Floor and wall decoration

Decorative designs on floors, wall, spandrels and pillars from a type which is quite distinct from other type of decorative patterns. A common motif is a hexagon repeated alternately with a star. It may be replaced by a pentagon or an equilateral triangle, or rarely a square,[23] in a variety of settings, breaking the monotony of similar units. Sometimes the star is replaced by a flower, of course, in a stylised form and drawn in free-hand.[24] As a matter of rule free-hand drawings are not favoured for floor decoration and accuracy in repititive patterns is considered necessary. Among the different combinations, composite units of hexagon and a six petalled flower drawn in geometrical form; star and a triangle; hexagon and a star are greatly favoured[25] (ibid-C).

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22. Horse armour-design: Diwan;f.355(Rampur);Akb; ff.10b,18,187b,188, 226b,255(C.B.);pls.10,12,13,25,31,41,42,53,63,97,98,100,102,104, 107,109(V.A.);Tarikh; ff.7b,8b,10b,11b,15a,20b,23b,24a,26b,44b, 53b,57b,65b,170b,202a,226a,337b(Patna);Razm; pls.43,50,54,60,63, 69,90,93,96,99,104,108,110,111,113,144(Jaipore).
23. Tuzuk; pl.68(Moscow).
24. Akb; f.143b(C.B.);pls.9,20,78,112(V.A.).Tarikh; f.90a(Patna);Razm; pls.38,120,136(Jaipore).
25. Diwan; f.30(Rampur);Akb;f.143b(C.B.);pls.8,9,20,21,28,78,79,89(V.A.) Tarikh; ff.40b,134a,136b,143b,144b(Patna);Razm; pls. 10,11,14,37, 38,73,78,116,119,136(Jaipore).

Wall decoration is very similar to that of the floors. Pillars, domes and walls are decorated by simpler geometrical units such as circles, hexagons and triangles. Circles are usually divided in three equal parts or sectors through straight lines.

For the decoration of domes geometrical or floral patterns[26] - both are employed in over-all settings. The former is mostly preferred. There is at least one instance in which a deer, drawn in three dia-mentional form and violent action is adopted as the main motif.[27] It has been set inside a running floral design and repeated in a circular sequence about the base of the dome. The floral decoration of the dome is reminiscent of the Persian Qalam. But the presence of the animal form is undoubtedly an original expansion which is not met with anywhere else (ibid -D).

The spandrels provide another ground for floral and geometrical patterns which are so concieved as to match with the designs given on the walls.

Costume's decoration

The richest variety of designs is found on the costumes, especially the jama , farji, patka, doshala and the turban. These are done

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26. Akb; pl. 9, 32(V.A.); Tuzuk; f. 520a (B.M.); Tarikh; ff. 4b, 58b, 146b(Patna); Razm; pls. 13, 14, 17, 79, 84, 124, 125, 136 (Jaipore).

27. Tuzuk; f. 520a (B.M.).

entirely in free hand and bear both spot design and running pattern. Floral designs are however common than others, though the finest of them appear on the jamas. The patkas are decorated on both the ends. Generally a band is given on the lower edge and the same is repeated above to make two or such bands. In between these spaces are filled with small spot - or all-over designs. Occasionally the patkas are found decorated with chains of triangles. Turbans are generally displayed plain and sometimes decorated with parallel and cross stripes of lines or small motifs of flowers or dots, in spot and running settings. But it is in the shawls that the artists show an imaginative use of the spot patterns.

The saddle-cloth is a miniature carpet, so to say, and is embellished with similar patterns in a much diminished size. Variety is however lacking here. The motifs used in one painting may be found repeated in several others. In one instance, the lower part of the saddle-cloth has the figure of an elephant and a lotus.[28] As a matter of rule, geometrical designs are not favoured, though couple of the saddle-cloths have been left plain.

Designs of utensils

The decoration of the utensils shown in the paintings do not present as significant case for our study as the items which have been dealt

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28. Ibid; f. 305; plate LXXI - D.

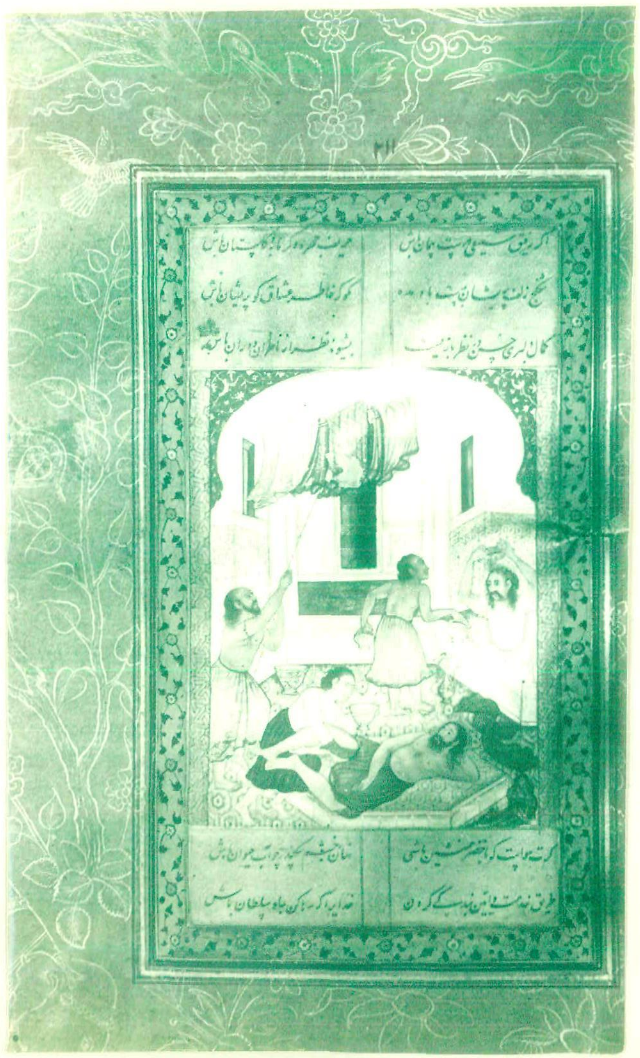


PLATE LXXII

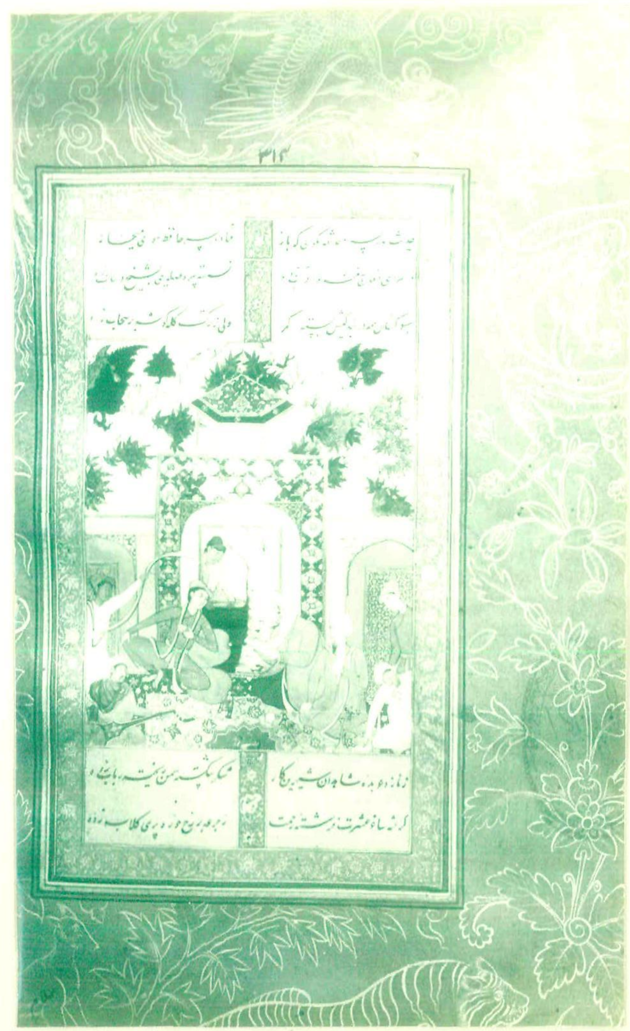


PLATE LXXIII

with above. Utensils forms are comparatively less numerous and bear the conventional designs that we can still see today on earthernware like pitchers. The usual style is of horizontal bands or vertical lines starting right below the neck and curving downwards correspon-ding to the form of the utensil. The former are special to lids, bowls, dishes and serving pots. In between the horizontal bands, often drawn in parallel pairs the spaces are filled further by zig-zag lines, as though, in symbolic expression of water.

Border-design

Border (hashyia) is a secondary part of the taswir. Nevertheless the Mughal artist regard it as a necessary element, the reasons for which may well be understood. Its primary function was to regularise the outlines or margins of the paintings, or to give it an artistic finish. Here the artist enjoyed considerable liberty and within the narrow stripes of the hashyia he tried to display all that he could prefer in order to provide the painting with additional decore. He could choose contrasting motifs or colours to emphasise the main theme or to enhance its easthetic appeal by rendering it in matching colours and objects such as creepers, leaves, flowers, design of various types. It certainly helped to create an effect of wholesomeness on the viewer's eye and a feeling of rhythm. Finally the practice reflects the fondness of the medieval painter and his patron for ornamentation.

Hashyia decoration was entirely the work of different painters who

specialised themselves in design. When the *taswir* was finished, it was handed over to the *wasligar* who mounted it and then passed on to the *jadval arayan* (line-drawer). Several line-drawers were employed in the Mughal atelier of paintings.[29]

Borders are simple. The illustrations are enclosed by additional narrow bands of lines mainly in black, deep green, blue, white and gold pigments. These may be four to eight or even more in number, running parallel to the corresponding *hashyia*. Lines are drawn with accurate measurement of length and breadth. A very narrow space is left in between two lines which is sometimes painted with gold pigment. In other case when the space is left a little braod, is decorated with floral designs.[30] Contrast and deep pigments are preferred.

Border decoration in the illustrations of the manuscripts *Diwan-i-Hafiz* (Rampur) and *Tuzuk* (B.M.) make a class by itself. These display flowers, buds and leaves employed in the running settings. In most case three or four petalled flowers are drawn on a measured distance. These are linked with one another with creeping stems and leaves. Both the stylised or natural forms of flowers, buds and leaves are equally favoured by the painters. The spot setting of these motives

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29. "In the same manner, as painters are encouraged, employment is held out to ornamental artists, gilders, line drawers and pagers". *Ain*; Vol. I, p. 115.

30. *Diwan*; ff. 19, 20, 30, 74, 116, 147, 177, 211, 247, 284, 314, 355 (Rampur).

is also the subject of a few borders. In the latter manuscript the side of the border facing the binding is sometimes wider than the other sides. The other sides are also of unequal width. It is difficult to understand the reason for the adoption of this method. P.Brown has described that this system is derived from Persian book-illustrations.[31] Certainly, however, it relieves the monotony which would be created by an uniform boderline. The unequal proportions of designs appearing on different sides and likewise the variations found in the motifs seem to be conditioned by the uneven width of the border itself.

Besides the border, margins of the illustrations in the Diwan-i-Hafiz (Rampur & C.B.) are decorated in a variety of conventional, floral designs, stencilled in gold. Floral motifs are directly drawn from the nature with inner details in line - drawing. The stylised form of a lotus with elongated petals, a flower with five or seven petals and curvilinear leaves and stems are quite common and severely repeated.[32] Occasionally the figure of an elephant,[33] or tiger and fox,[34] or a tiger with the characteristics of a Chinese dragon-flame like

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31. "It will be noticed that many miniatures are not in the centre of the mount but slightly to one side, a custom derived from the Persian book-illustrations, which, being bound in a book were placed in this position. Many Mughal pictures were intended to be bound in Muraqqa, a kind of album or scrap-book, so that they were also mounted on one side by the Vasligar with this object in view". P.Brown (M), p. 191.

32. Diwan; ff. 19, 30, 74, 116, 147, 211, 284, 355 (Rampur).

33. Ibid; f. 147, 211.

34. Ibid; ff. 247, 314.

lines emerging from the body.[35] Such decorated margins are also sparingly used in the manuscript to embellish the folios of text. Similarly, in the other copy of the Diwan-i-Hafiz[36] - in the collection of Sir Chester Beatty Collection, folio one and two display stancilled floral design - depicting a human head emerging from blue-petals and enclosed in a circular golden-sun with wavy rays. These margins are the only examples employed to decorate the illustrated manuscripts under Akbar (plate LXXII & LXXIII).

In the illustrations belonging to the manuscripts Akbarnama (V.A., C.B.); Razmnama (Jaipore; Baroda); Tarikh-i-Alfi (Patna) and Anwar-i-Suhaili (Varanasi), decorative hashyias with motifs of natural objects have totally disappeared only the border lines remain. The illustrations of the Tuzuk (Moscow) manuscript are all made in flash-cut. These have neither the hashyia not the khat[37] or the bands of lines. This is rather interesting, though its significance is difficult to ascertain.

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35. Ibid; f. 177.
36. Appendix.3.
37. The hashyia, whether composed with decorative motifs or with or with lines only or of both was called jadwal. A hashyia made of lines only was given the term khat. P.Brown(M); p. 191.



PLATE Lxxi (D)

Chinese and Indian influences can be categorically marked both in style and form. However the Mughal painters were not only imitators or adopters of the existing ideas. On the contrary their treatment of the animals was a great improvement on them. They replaced stylisation by realism and idealism by accuracy. They were endowed with great power of observation and matched it with equal skill. To connect this development with the Western or Chinese traditions would be stretching the argument a bit too along. None of these show so complete mastery as do the Mughal painters. The Chinese were adept in the representation of birds; Western artists achieved a single success in the depiction of domestic animals. For the Mughal painter the difference did not exist for he could capture their forms with equal perfection. In their representation the accuracy in form, sensible touch of varying moods and emotions, principles of maximum visibility of details, use of natural colours in their forms, the balanced landscape and delicate colour scheme - evidence not only the mastery of style and technique but also a commandable observation and appreciation of animal life.

D E C O R A T I O N

It is an inalienable part of pictorial art and has fascinated the imagination of all kinds of artists who have used it as a complementary medium of decoration. The Mughal artists achieved a remarkable

degree of expertise in the utilisation of design patterns of an endless variety on costumes, ornaments, jewellery, utensils, furniture and buildings.

In the illustrations the designs appear in different settings and forms, for instance geometrical and ornamental patterns and stylised version of natural objects.[1] A strong propensity for conventionalisation of expression wherein the artist can rely on a few formula made up of standard curves and lines appears to be apparent cause of it. The stylisation of natural objects in design has been characteristic to the Persian Qalam. The motifs: five petalled flower with two stems on either ends; lotus with elongated petals interlaced with curvilinear leaves in onion shaped units are quite common. Geometrical designing is based on the repitition of such units as triangle, square, rectangle, line and half circles.[2] The hexagon however is the most represented element in the designs. These are employed to decorate the borders of Shamyianas, Chardiwaris of camps, floors and walls.

Costumes designs display considerable variety of settings and units.

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1. Plate LXXI.

2. Diwan; ff. 19,30,211(Rampur); Akb; pls. 8,11,20,21,27,28,32,37, 50,78,79,88,89,96,113,117 (V.A.); ff. 27b,54,143b (C.B.); Tuzuk, pls. 1,3,10,23 (Moscow); ff.2,13,23,44,80,208,252,294,468(B.M.); Tarikh; ff. 4b,5b,6b,40b,110b,134a,136b,143b,144b,146b,260b (Patna). Razm; pls. 10,11,12,14,21,37,38,67,70,78,79,84,85,105, 116,119,120,136,138 (Jaipore).

All the three kinds of design (*Viz*. all over design, spot design and border design) are used. The *patka*, *doshala* and carpet etc. usually provide the ground for border designs. The most significant borders are those painted on the *hashyias* of *taswirs*. These borders are mostly decorated with designs in ornamented and conventional curves and lines. All over and spot designs are found on carpets, garments *shamyianas*, floors, utensils, arms and armours etc. Traces of the Persian conventional form are evident in such designs as are developed by employing oval and onion shaped units[3]; while designs composed of vertical and horizontal stripes are of typically pre-Mughal Indian Character[4]. A wider range of units is displayed in decorative motifs which include representations of a variety of flower, leaves, buds. Motifs of birds and animals and utensils etc. are rarely depicted. The animal figures[5] : a tiger, an elephant, a deer and birds find their way in the decoration of a *Shamyiana*, a saddle-cloth and a dome respectively (plate LXXI - D).

Walls also find a significant place as ground for decorative designing partially covered at the base leaving about two thirds of the upper part vacant[6]. An interesting feature is the use of the utensil forms

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3. Plate Lxxi - B.
4. *Tuzuk*; f. 252 (B.M.).
5. *Akb*; f. 1 (C.B.); *Tuzuk*; f. 305 (B.M.); *Ibid*; f. 520; *Tarikh*; f. 89b (Patna).
6. *Diwan*; f. 19,30,211(Rampur); *Akb*; ff. 54,147b,148,168b,245(C.B.); pls. 8,21,50,78,79(V.A.); *Tuzuk*; pls. 10,23,68 (Moscow); ff. 2, 252,256,260,279,294 (B.M.); *Tarikh*; ff. 5b,40b,134a,254a,260b (Patna); *Razm*; pls. 10,12,14,84,119,136,138 (Jaipore).

for wall decoration pronouncing the Central-Asian affiliation of the art of Akbar's court.[7]

The decorative art of the illustrations present a crisscross of different traditions. The affinities are sometimes clear as in the use of elephant figures as units of linear or spot decoration or of the realistic shape of the lotus flower, both of which are reminiscent of the pre-Mughal Indian proclivities.[8] In other instances the adoptions are fused with alien elements as when lotus has been stylised. The motifs of a dragon head, birds with elongated beaks and furious expression employed in the decoration of alams, awrangs and boats are close to the Chinese tradition.[9]

In respect of decorative art and fertility of imagination the Akb. (V.A. & C.B.); Tuzuk.(B.M.); Razm. (Jaipore) and Tarikh. (Patna) are certainly the richest. The profusion of design appearing on all kinds of articles - costumes, chhatras, sayabans, awrangs, floors, walls, columns, utensils, even the nooks and corners having seemingly no significant place in the over-all view of painting - is a treat to the eye. Anwar (Varanasi); Diwan (Rampur) and Tuzuk (Delhi) though not so overdone are nevertheless rich in decore. The Razm

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7. Tuzuk; f. 252 (B.M.).
8. Ibid; f. 305.
9. Plate XCI figs. 16-20; Plate CXII; figs. 10-12.

(Baroda) and Tuzuk (Moscow) are comparatively auster. Evidently the latter originate in a different technique. These are conspicuous for their wet surface tonality and economy of lines. The concept of detailing minute patterns, and careful shading by measured lines which is characteristic of the Mughal art is replaced here by bold treatment of colours and lines, a technique which is less imiable to profuse, detailed design work.

CARPET DECORATION :

In the illustrations carpets are shown being for seating the main characters. These display various decorative designs which are drawn with the repitition of floral and geometrical motifs either all over the ground[10] as is generally observed or in spots. Animal and bird forms are not used. Floral motifs are drawn from such natural objects as flowers, buds and curvilinear leaves (plate IXXII- B). Stylised form of the lotus and the onion shaped curves are quite common and seem to be close to the Persian Qalam. Horizontal and vertical stripes are observed very rarely.[11] Plain carpets are very rare.[12] With

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10. Diwan; ff. 19,30,116,247,314 (Rampur); Akb; ff. 1,6b,27b,147b, 168b,201,245,263b (C.B.); pls. 8,9,27,32,50,52,75,79,86,88,94, 96,112,113,114 (V.A.); Tarikh; ff. 4b,5b,40b,45a,72a,89b,90a, 104a,118a,123b,126b,131b,132a,136b,140b,140b,144b,166b,178b,182a, 205b,206b,154a,260b,328b (Patna). Razm; pls. 2,6,10,12,21,37,39, 68,73,79,85,86,136,138 (Jaipore).
11. Tuzuk; f. 252 (B.M.).
12. Ibid; pl. 33 (Moscow); Tarikh; ff. 20a, 146b (Patna).

slight variations, floral designs are more or less similar in pattern and drawing. The basic concept which is repeated again and again is of a blue carpet with a yellow border. The palmettes and interlacing scroll work form the basic patterns of the ground. This is true not only about the miniatures of one manuscripts but the designs found in all the manuscripts are not substantially at variations. Instances of spot decoration are rare.

Border is mostly composed of a continuous running pattern of a flower - four or five petalled, emanating with two stems on either sides.[13] For border decoration floral designs seem to find more favour with the artists than geometrical patterns.[14] The latter comprise simpler forms such as triangles, squares, half-circles and lines (Ibid - C). Distinction between the patterns in the centre and the margins is made by means of variation both in motifs and colours. The Persian blue is pre-dominent.

Some of the carpets[15] preserved in the museums as those used by Akbar

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13. Diwan; ff. 30,314 (Rampur); Akb; ff. 1,6b,27b,54,168b,201,263b (C.B.); pls. 9,20,27,32,78,79,86,88,96,112(V.A.) ;Tarikh; ff.4b, 5b,20a,45a,72a,89b,90a,123b,126b,131b,132a,140b,144b,166b,178b, 206b,254a(Patna); Razm; pls. 2,6,12,21,37,68,79,86,136,138 (Jaipore).
14. Diwan; f. 19,247(Rampur); Akb; pl.50,52,94,113,114(V.A.); Tarikh; ff. 40b,104a,136b,328b (Patna). Razm; pl.10 (Jaipore).

15. Plate LXVIII: Fragment of an animal carpet. About 4 by $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet (1.0065 by 1.29 m.) Third quarter of 16th century; The Textile Museum, Washington, D.C.; Plate LXIX : A landscape carpet, 7 feet $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 5 feet 1 inch(2.227 by 1.750 m.),Late sixteenth century; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.(The patterns and basic concept of design are Persian. The space is filled with beasts,

Contd ....

display remarkable degree of originality. Figure of animals, geometrical-patterns, utensils-motifs, architectural-designs, animal fights, hunting scenes, the Chinese dragon, mythical objects and a variety of floral running designs, all are made use of in imazing combinations and colours. This contrast is intriging. Though the question whether the painters were simply repeating the carpet design for the lack of imagination or a matter of convenience, is a matter of conjecture.

Shamyiana and tent decoration

Shamyianas may be decorated with floral or geometrical designs or may left plain, though rarely.[16] No particular care is taken to distinct[illegible] in the decorative designs of the Shamyianas and carpets. Like the latter, the former may be done in over-all or spot patterns and in similar colourscheme and units. Atleast in two instances bird and animal - motifs[17] are employed for decoration. Wherein besides the

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Contd...15. mythical objects, buildings, trees and flora devices. In the latter example, the composite animal shown in the lower margin of the carpet is unique. The figure is the combination of various animals. Its thin waist, upright long tail and legs seems borrowed from the lion motif. The neck stiff like a swan and upright ears are apparently borrowed from the horse. The mouth with tusk and trunk is of an elephant. Wings are also shown on either sides. Thus the figure is composed of a horse, an elephant, a lion and a bird. This mighty fabulous animal is shown fighting 7 elephants and a huge bird.) A very similar composite animals are employed as motifs in the decoration of Delhi gate of Agra fort. (Depiction of Fabulous Animals (Gaj Vyala) at the Delhi gate of Agra fort; by Dr.R.Nath; Medieval India a miscellany, Vol.II, pp.45-52; 1972.).

16. Akb; ff. 54,147b(C.B.); pl.79,112(V.A.); Tuzuk; ff.208,293(B.M.); pls. 6,29(Moscow); Tarikh; ff.20a, 123b,136b(Patna); Razm; pl.119(Jaipore).

17. Akb; f. 1 (C.B.); Tarikh; f. 89b(Patna).


پشت سر و بال او سفید است آواز بلندی دارد رنگ
از بزرگ خیلی بلندتر است و از بزرگ سینه و پستان خوردتر است

PLATE LXVI

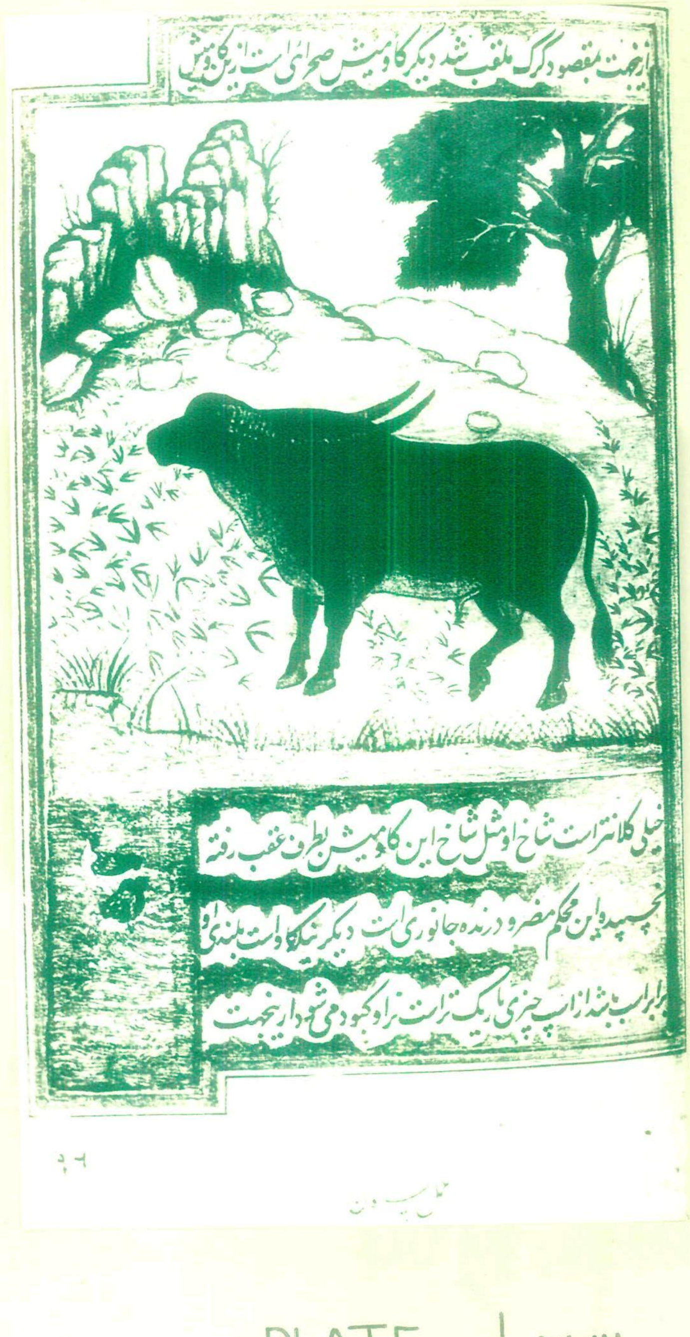

از جهت بمقصود گرگ ملقب شد دیگر گاومیش صحرائی است ازین گاومیش
خیلی کلانتر است شاخ او مثل شاخ این گاومیش بطرف عقب رفته
نچسپیده این محکم مضر و درنده جانوری است دیگر نیلگاو است بلندی او
برابر اسب باشد از اسب چیزی باریک تر است رنگ او کبود می شود ازین جهت

PLATE LXVII

by him in a diagonal composition depicting violent force can be compared with the work of Basawan executed on plate 22 in the same manuscript (plate XXXII). In the present example Banwari Kalan has joined him in work. His independent work lies in the Anwar-i-Suhaili manuscript (Varanasi).[20] He balances the composition by introducing animal figures and prefers harmonious colour-blending. Objects are filled up with thin colour (plate L xiv). Shankar gujrati[21] and Bhavani[22] can well be trusted for fineness and accuracy in lines. To express the mood of tension and fearosity in the combat of animals, is the skill of the latter (plate xxvii). The former has shown his excellency in the vivid portrayal of the animals. The landscape blended in the thin-wash of colour and harmonious colour scheme, simplicity in form and rhythmic lines characterise his work (plates LXV & LXVI).

Sarvan prefers to build-up the whole picture mainly in blue and green colours[23] occasionally mixed up with the tinge of yellow. In a few of his works the background has subdued the main objects. The representation of a wild Indian buffallo in the Tuzuk (B.M.),[24] may be taken as his best work. Strongly built body of the animal, drawn in a few

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20. Anwar; ff. 48, 71 (Varanasi).
21. Tuzuk; pls. 78-80, 85 (B.M.); Anwar; f. 144 by Shankar (probably the same - Shankar Gujrati), Varanasi).
22. Tuzuk; pls. 94, 107 (Delhi); pl. 113 (B.M.).
23. Tuzuk; pls. 59,83,84 (B.M.); Akb; pl. 18 (V.A.).
24. Ibid; pl. 59.



PLATE LXVIII



PLATE LXIX (A)


توب رام می شود دیگر منک است قد او پس دیگ است و خورد
تر است به لک لک مشابهتی دارد اما لک لک خیلی کلان تر است منقار
منقار او از منقار لک لک درازتر است منقار او سیاه است سر او
سوپستی گردن او سفید بالهای او ابلق کناره پرهای بال او و پنج بالهای
او سفید و میان سیاه است دیگر یک نوع لک لک است که
گردن او سفید است سر و جمع اعضای او سیاه است بآن و لانتها بسر د

PLATE LXIX (B)



PLATE Lxx

lines with the suggestion of the curvatures of body, has emerged in the light background of yellow and blue (plate LXVII). He seems to prefer the drawing of a single figure in the whole composition (plate LXVIII).

Surya Gujrati[25] has rendered details in bold lines and has preferred to draw birds always in pair (plate LXIX). Dhanno[26] and Hussain Naqqash[27] have equally preferred the birds and painted them in the lap of nature in the wash of thin colours. The former has much emphasized on the landscape (plate LXX). Mahesh[28] is known for his illustrations in the Akb; (V.A.), Tuzuk (Delhi) and Anwar (Varanasi). The painting depicting 'the capture of a wild elephant' seems best of his works. Diagonal composition has produced the rhythm in the picture. In the present example Kesu Khurd[29] has assisted him as a side artist (plate XXIV).

Hunting scenes[30] are the reproduction of the vivid observation of artists. Various species of animals are crammed in one scene (plate XX). In these group drawings also each figure has been treated individually and finished on separate planes. The figures drawn in

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25. Ibid; pl. 76,77.
26. Ibid; pl. 68,75, 82.
27. Ibid; pl. 69.
28. Akb; pl. 40(V.A.); Tuzuk, pl. 91 (Delhi); Anwar; f. 55 (Varanasi).
29. Akb; pl. 40 (V.A.).
30. Tuzuk, pls. 63,64,74,80,81 (Delhi); pls. 42,43,47,53-55(B.M.); pls. 25,26(Moscow); Akb. f. 155b (C.B.); pls. 17,18,24,84,92, 93 (V.A.); Anwar, f. 17 (Varanasi).

their natural lay out depicting variety of postures and the rhythmic lines expressing different moods evidence the skill of painters. Of them Basawan (plate XIX & XXII), Dhanraj, Jagannath, Lal (plate XXIII), Manohar (plate XX A) and Paras have surpassed others in the composition and balance of landscape.[31] Farrukh chela[32] may be noted for the illustration of animals in the theme taken from tales and fables (plate iv and vii A).

Although Manohar[33] has not been included inthe list of Court-painters furnished by Abul Fazl, attained the fame for his animal studies. His illustrations are the treasure of modes of expression. In all of these every possible detail is precisely rendered, quality of draughtmanship is exceptional and the colours are vivid and brilliant. However we come across only two illustrations - a hunting scene and 'a princess on death bead' attributed in his name; under the collection taken for study[34] (plate XXa & XXX).

One come across of various trends in the representation of animal figures. The elephants are drawn in the pre-Mughal Indian style wherein the trunk is always shown curled and the whole drawing is embued with solid three - diamentional effect. The treatment of horse, camel, deer and dog is nearer the Persian style. These have

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31. Basawan (Akb; pls. 17,18,24 (V.A.). Dhanraj (Tuzuk; f.305(B.M.); Jagannath(Ibid; f.352) ;Manohar (Ibid; f.283) ; Paras (Ibid; f. 347) ; Lal (Akb; pls. 92,93 (V.A.).
32. Anwar; f. 30 (Varanasi).
33. Encyclopedia of World Art; Vol. IX, p. 499.
34. Tuzuk; f. 283 (B.M.) ; Anwar; f. 100 (Varanasi).

been rarely depicted in pre-Mughal Indian painting with the exception of deer, which too has become stylistic or idealised. In the Persian and Mughal styles the deer does in no instance lose its realistic form. The treatment of the horse reflects the Persian conception of the ideal qualities of the animal: Small face, fleshy, heavy body, thin, strong forelegs and long tail. The representation of this animal appears alike everywhere in the illustrations.

The fish which are shown either straight or half-curled, and more often than not, half submerged in the water. This treatment has its origin in the pre-Mughal Indian art.

Traces of Chinese art are also not wanting in the miniatures drawn from animal life. Interestingly, the Chinese dragon has found its way in the form of the crocodile[35] which is provided with all the attributes and features of its imaginary counterpart, namely ears, gigantic claws, flame like linings originating below the lower jaw and running along the neck down to the chest (plate LXVIII).

Animal painting has acquired a special significance in the Akbari art. The portraiture of animals and their free movements represent a fascinating subject for the study of influences. The Iranian,

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35. Ibid; pls. 83, 84, 114 (B.M.); pl. 111 (Delhi); pl. 45 (Moscow).



PLATE Lxxi (A)

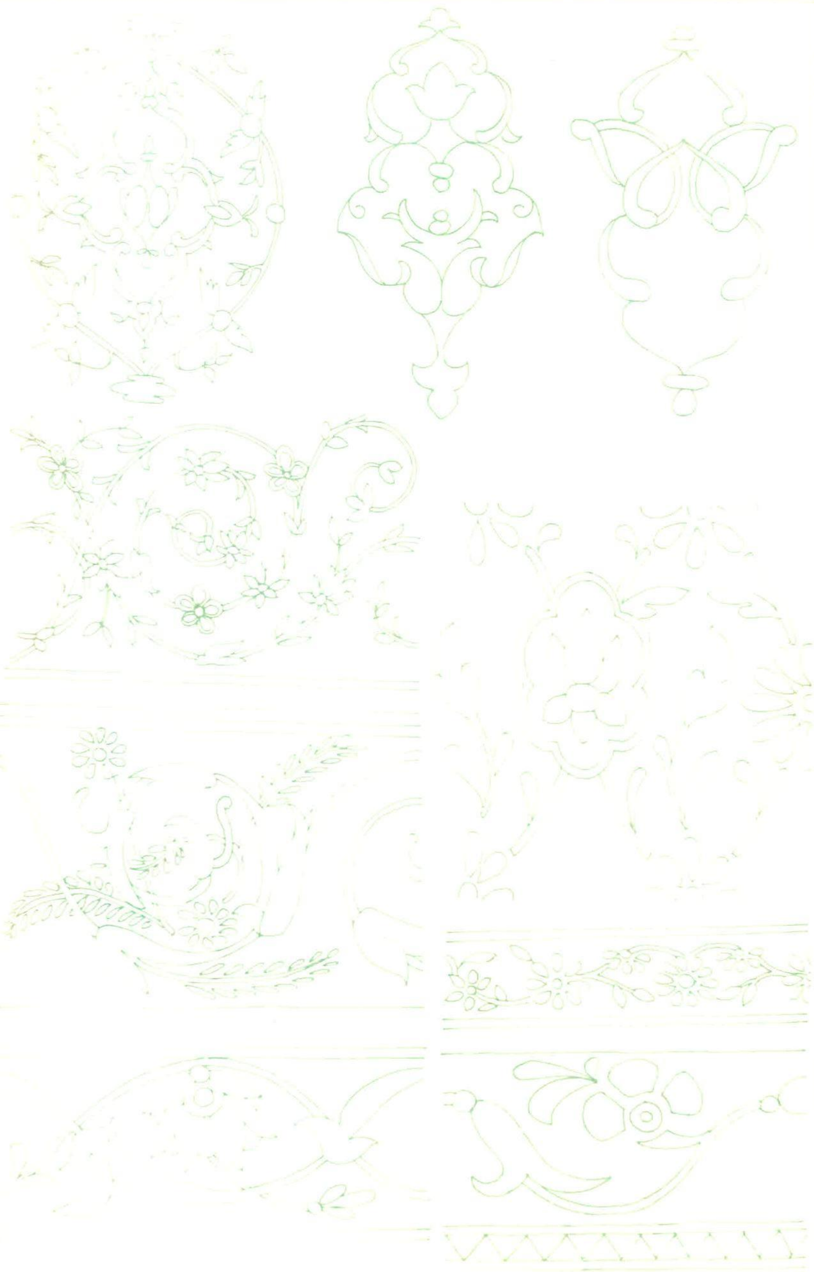


PLATE LXXI (B)

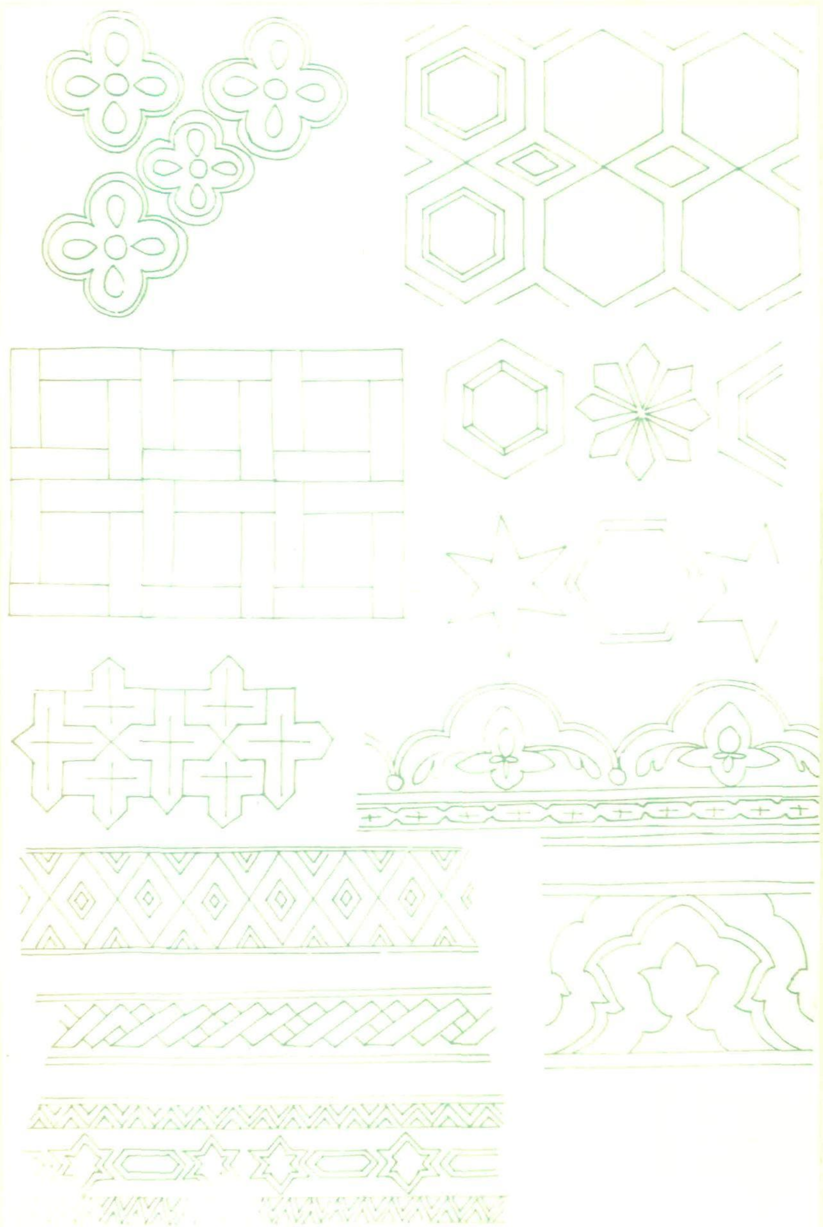


PLATE LXXI (C)

Human figures represented in the illustrations can be divided into several categories. These are the common people, the noble, king and his near relations and ladies. The difference is expressed by means of external characteristics like costumes, positioning of figures and functions etc. As a rule the common man is drawn as a type, having no individual identity. The face, hands, bulk and strature reamin more or less the same everywhere. Distinction among them is however sought to be made by different dress. A personal attendant of a noble and a shephered or a sailor acquire their identities through the omission of a head gear or simplicity of the garment or by showing the body half-naked. A further mark of distinction is the work shown as being performed by a figure.

The only instance where the artist is bound to maintain the individuality of the subject is the person of the king, his near male relations and some of the courtiers. In this the artist depends on some standard lines, positioning of the figure, costumes, ornaments and the lay out.[9] It is learnt that the face drawing of Akbar is not entirely identical everywhere.[10] His profile or three quarter view[11] both

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9. Akb; ff. 25,147b,157b,201,245(C.B.); pls. 15,20,27,54,65,81,83,85, 93 (V.A.); Tarikh; f. 331a (Patna).

10. Akb; ff. 25,32b,122b,157b,248(C.B.);pls. 9,17,21,22,23,40,52,54, 67,75,77,92,93,97,99,106(V.A.). Tarikh; ff.322a,323a,331a(Patna).

11. Akb; ff. 1,6b,19,27b,49b,54,147b,169,201,295,263b(C.B.);pls.14, 15,20,24,27,39,41,50,58,60,61,65,79,81,83,84,85,94,110,113,114, 117(V.A.); Diwan; f. 19 (Rampur).

have attracted the artists but the latter has fascinated the most.[12] In the Tuzuk illustrations, in the drawing of Babur's face artist is assisted a few set lines - an oval face with a small pointed beard, ornamented costumes and by the prominence of place assigned to him in the lay out. Babur's face is also not entirely identical in many examples.[13] His figure is also portrayed in three-quarter view[14] and the strict profile is rarely found.[15] The main figures:[16] an emperor, a prince or a general; are usually drawn in three quarter view.

Slight variations in the shade of flesh colour is shown in a single personality. Akbar's face has been treated in varying shades by different artists.[17] The same is true of Babur's face in the Tuzuk paintings, wherein, in several example he is shown to be of dark

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12. Ibid
13. Tuzuk; pls. 2,8,10,16,18,19,21,24,33,68,69 (Moscow).
14. Tuzuk; ff. 83,84,94,128,133,180,181,274,295,306,347,468,478(B.M.); pls. 16,8,10,11,14,15,16,17,19,20,23,26,29,32,33,35,65,69(Moscow); Tarikh; ff. 246b,248a,252a,253a,254a(Patna).
15. Tuzuk; f. 468 (B.M.).
16. Diwan; ff. 19,74,116,147,177,247,314(Rampur); Tarikh; ff.4b,5b, 6b,9a,10b,12a,14a,20a,219,23b,24b,26b,28b,32a,40b,42b,45a,48b, 51a,54,55,57b,59b,60b,61b,63b,67b,72a,73a,89b,90a,104a,108b,118a, 123b,126b,131b,134a,136b,144b,147b,148a,154b,166b,170b,178b,182a, 194a,196b,205b,206b,226a,227b,230a,238a,246b,248a,252a,253a,254a, 260b,284a,323a,328b (Patna); see also F.N. 11 and 14.
17. Akb; 122b,176b,248,263b(C.B.); Akbar's face is painted pink; or pink with a tinge of brown; or pink with a tinge of yellow; or pink in dull shade. (The originals of Akbarnama(V.A. and C.B. Collections), could not be accessible to us; therefore the study has been based on the coloured reproduction produced in the modern works); Akbar's face represented in the Tarikh-i-Alfi (Patna) on folios: 322a, 323a and 331a has varied in tone of colour.

completion.[18] Difference is certainly not the reason for this inconsistency as, and it is important, a single artist is likely to render the features in different ways and colours. To ascribe this irregularity to lack of skill would be certainly wrong. The fact that the exception of lines standardised for consistently bringing out the identity requires no more than elementary knowledge of art and the minimum of expertise, as well as the frequency with which the darkish or fair tones are repeated stand proof so the renderings being deliberate. Evidently, the importance was attached to the accuracy in the representation of the contours of the face and the facial colour was - not the artist's mainstay in the way of creating a required identity. Hence outer semblance was not the aim of an artist, who expertised in

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18. <u>Tuzuk</u>; pl. 17 (Moscow); ff. 35, 128, 256, 305, 459, 478 (B.M.); Folio 205 (Delhi) published in the <u>Mughal Miniature</u> by Dr. Rai Krishna Das; pl. 2. -- Dr. Rai Krishna Das is inclined to believe that Babur had slightly dark complexion. His conclusion is partially based on folio 205 of the Delhi manuscript which has been reproduced in his book, <u>Mughal Miniatures</u> and on some other paintings not specified by him. The darkish complexion shown in these paintings cannot however been taken as sufficient evidence. In fact the colour in these portraits is too dark to belong to a prince whose father and mother were of Timurid descent and of a pure race. Contrarily, in the majority of paintings Babur's face is depicted in pink. Even in the works of a single artist his face has been differently coloured. Notes characterising Babur are abundant in contemporary accounts, but Dr. Das' suggestion is nowhere corroborated.

The reason for these depictions however is difficult to find. Perhaps it should be ascribed to the painter's caprice. It is significant that all the paintings showing Babur's complexion as dark are Hindu artists (with the slightly exception of <u>Khiza Chela</u>). Might not this be taken as an evidence of the possibility that in so painting the emperor, they were tending to idealise the colour in the native Indian fashion where the Gods, especially Krishna and Rama are depicted in dark tones.

the depiction of innermost feelings and mood which is not wanting in his works. The high personage and authoritative character of the emperor is maintained everywhere. In his depiction, the artist is helped also by the configuration of objects, costuming of figures and the like. The main figure remains isolated tending to easy discrimination despite a freer stroke here or a slip there.

Artists seem to pay much care to face drawing; the rest of the parts of the body are considered of secondary importance. Most of the faces of the figures are drawn on more or less similar lines and the artist distinguishes them by varying the proportions of the various parts of it, such as nose, chin, lips etc. The face is oval or round or sometimes pointed at chin. Small round chin when drawn with large cheeks in a round face has produced a fleshy and heavy head.[19] Shade-lines are employed in dark-tones round the chin, sockets of the eyes, nostrils and ears in order to create three-dimensional effect in the face. The remaining part of the face which is meant to be lightened is drawn in flat colour (plate LV).

The eye-brow is drawn in a curve resembling that of a bow. Eyes are all according to a type, half-open, with full upper eye-lid and the

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19. In the Persian style also both the male and female faces are drawn heavy with large cheeks making the face round. To connect any association in between the face drawing adopted in these two techniques - the Mughal and Persian would be stretching the argument a bit too long. The Mughal artist only after being particular of the elongated eyes, has preferred round faces with heavier cheeks which may be a variation of the advanced cheeks represented in the Ajanta art.



PLATE Lv

looks directed below the eye-level. The position does not change with the change of the angle of the onlooker's face. Eyes, openfully or wide are very rarely depicted.[20] The Mughal painters have shown their originality in the representation of eyes. The representation of eye-brow like a bow has differed from that displayed in the Ajanta, Ellora and Jaina's art and the Persian style also in which eye-brow is not so prominent as in the Mughal style. The similar case is with the eyes drawn by placing two concave lines in opposite settings. The tradition of drawing the upper lid heavy and slightly elongated eyes[21] (specially drawn in the faces of women) affiliates the Mughal style with the Indian tradition (plate LVII).[22] In a few instances in the depiction of one and a quarter or three-quarter faces the second-eye eye is drawn slightly bulging or projecting outside (plate LV). The upper lid has become more curved and heavy; and the eye-ball is invariably shown at the extreme outer -- a tradition different from the Persian style and a variation of the Jaina's art in which the second eye is invariably drawn projecting outside.

Faces are painted in three-quarter or in profile and rarely in one

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20. Akb; f. 32b, 169 (C.B.); Tarikh; f. 177a, 241b (Patna).
21. The Technique; p. 92.(The elongated eyes are sparingly employed in the figures of men also and no casual distinction is favoured by the artists in the representation of their eyes.).
22. Akb; ff. 1, 19 (C.B.); Tarikh; ff. 6b,32a,26b, 51a, 246b, 284a, 331a (Patna).

and a quarter profile.[23] Back views of the head are met with casually in congregational and war scenes. The Mughal painters preferred to three quarter view - a convention of Persian painters.[24] In the central figures where an artist had to show likeness in the face, mostly the three-quarter faces are drawn.[25] With the fusion of the Persian and pre-Mughal Indian traditions certain changes occured in the Medieval Indian painting. The tradition of representing farther eye-brow and the farther eye was discarded; although this was not the last phase in the representation of human face in the Mughal art. With the development of the Mughal school the practice of drawing figures in three quarter view was replaced by the strict profile.[26] Nevertheless this change had started taking place during the Akbar's reign and strict profile[27] was sparingly employed by the artists.

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23. Akb; ff. 54, 248 (C.B.); pls. 32, 75,102,114 (V.A.); Tarikh; ff. 40b, 57b,63b, 90a, 284a (Patna); Razm; pls. 82, 116(Jaipore); pl.21 (Baroda); Tuzuk; pls. 6, 25, 68 (Moscow).

24. "A careful study of the early Mughal paintings of Akbar period will show that the figures were usually drawn in three quarter view, strict profile was sparingly used. This was due to the influence of the Persian art tradition which preference to three view in the representation of the faces". The Technique; p.57; 61.

25. See F.N. 11, 14, 15 and 16.
26. "But this method of representation was not a lasting face in Mughal art;it had to make away for the rigid profile. From the time of Shah Jahan onwards the faces were mostly represented in rigid profile; all the vestiges of ancient three-quarter view had disappeared". The Technique; p. 62.

27. See F.N. 10 and 15; Tarikh; ff. 323a, 331a, 322a (Patna).

The moustache and the beard are drawn to the details of each single hair. Details are also given in the varying forms of nose, lip, chin and the facial outlines. Faces are drawn in round curved outlines giving the impression of their being fleshy and this regardless of the age of the figures shown.[28] An old man is thus distinguished not by the facial depressions but by white hair or bended back etc. Rarely, a few commoners - beggars etc. are depicted with depressed muscles, bended posture and lean and thin body.[29] Bold and deep outlines are employed to express the forms of various parts of the body.

For depicting subtler ideas such as emotions, moods, age and the circumstances of misery or happiness the artist contends himself with the use of some symbols drawn from bodily gestures and postures. Here too, he is the least conerned with the mechanism of the body. A bended waist, a white beard and a staff is all that is needed to make a figure look old.[30] Tense eye-brows comes as a symbol of anger.[31] Surprise is depicted by the fore finger resting on the lip.[32] Fright

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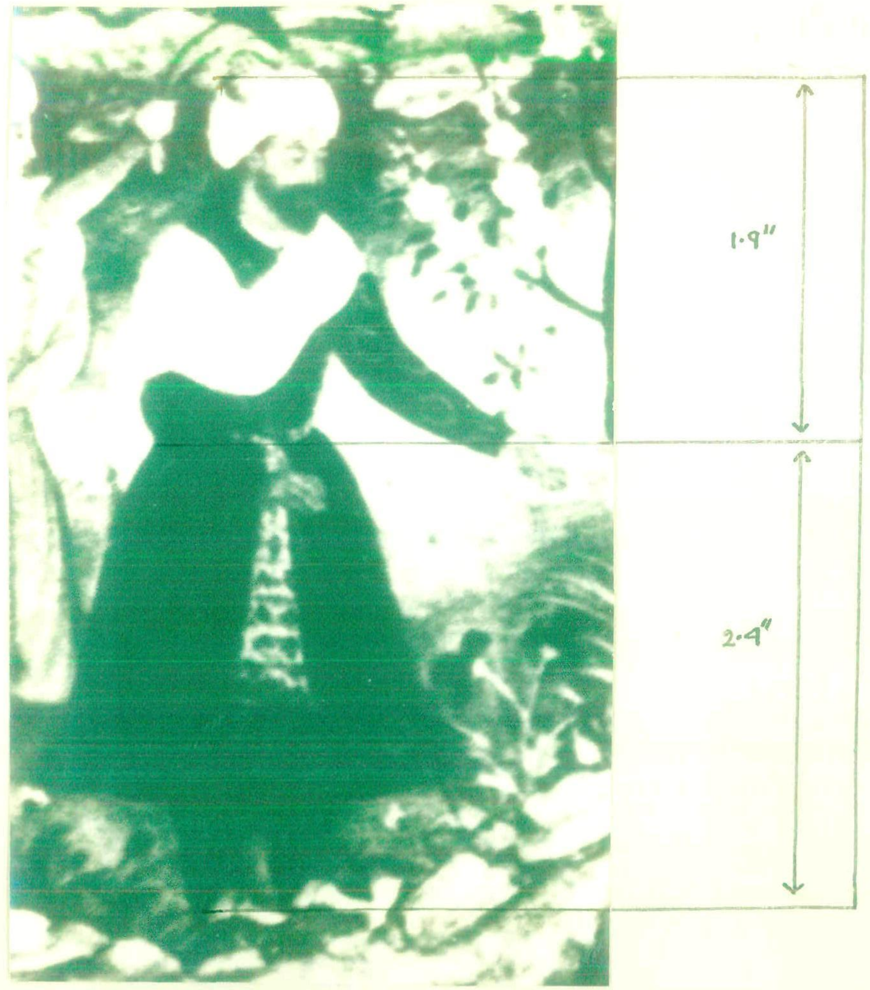
28. Akb; ff. 7,27b,32b,147b,148,168b,245,248,263(C.B.); pls. 9,21, 28,41,48,75,82,89,96,110,112,113,114(V.A.); Diwan; ff.19,30,177, 314(Rampur); Tarikh; ff. 3b,4b,6b,40b,48b,60b,89b,90a,118a,123b, 131b,166b,205b,206b,254a,284a(Patna); Tuzuk; pls. 3,16(Moscow); ff. 6,35,84,492,504 (B.M.).

29. Akb; f. 263b (an old man shown in the lower margin with a child); (C.B.). Tarikh; f. 254a - an old man holding a bag, dressed in a doshala, ends of which are tied in the front(Patna).

30. See F.N. 28.

31. Akb; f. 169(C.B.); pls. 17,18,25,61,79,88,116(V.A.);Tarikh; ff. 6b,118a,157b,169,193a,205b(Patna); Tuzuk; f. 285 (B.M.).

32. Akb; ff. 6b,32b,(C.B.); pls.6,17,34,77,82,112,113(V.A.); Tarikh; ff. 6b,7,30b,40b,59b,90a,118a,246b,331a(Patna); Razm; pls. 13, 38,75,120,136(Jaipore);Tuzuk;ff.35,44,279,417,492(B.M.);pls. 1,8,17,21,23,24,35 (Moscow).



RATIO : 1 : 1·3

PLATE LVI (A)



PLATE LVI (B)

symbolised in the eyes held wide open.[33] The rest of the body remains uneffected by the emotion sought to be captured - each symbolic gesture remains isolated. The artist has a rich variety of such gestures and cleverly uses them in order to endow his creations with rhythmic effect.

The Mughal artist have got their own ideas of the proportion of human body. Much care is taken for maintaining correct proportion, proper height and girth.[34] Dr. Motichandra has tried to determine the proportions of the body generally used in the Mughal Qalam. His measurements, which are approximate, seem to have been taken from portrait paintings and exhibit a fairly good knowledge of human, physique. These measurements vary from painting to painting and for one, it has become difficult to find out the set proportions of body (plate LVI). Broadly speaking, the part of the body above the waist is generally shorter in proportion than the lower one.[35] The proportions established in them are 1 : 1.3; or 1: 1.2; or 1: 1. In a few instances the

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33. Akb; f. 32b (C.B.); pls. 17,18, 22, 34 (V.A.); Tarikh; ff. 32b, 159, 241b (Patna).

34. "According to the tradition of the Mughal painters the height of the body should be 8, 8½ and atmost 9 spans; beyond that the figure goes out of proportion. The face should measure one span, the middle point of the chest falls on the second span; the naval of the third, the penis on the fourth; thigh at the fifth, knees, at the sixth, shin at the seventh span and the foot at the eight span. If the body is represented more than eight span in height the distance between the parts of the body described alone in increased". The Technique, p. 63.

35. Plate LVI (The conclusion has been drawn after measuring several standing figures; a few of the importance are represented in the plate with the reference of folio no. and the name of the manuscript).

position is reverse and the part of the body above the waist is longer than the rest below.[36] In the standards given by Dr. Motichandra the case is a bit different. He has divided whole body in 8 spans and the face measures one span. The naval- on which the patka is girdled; falls on third span, dividing the full figure in the proportion of 3:5 e.g. 1: 1.66.[37] The facial proportions given by him are also better than those found in the illustrations. But this can be judged only by observations. The figures are too small to be correctly measured.

Similarly, ladies figure[38] exhibit the part of body below the waist, longer than the upper part.

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36. Tuzuk; ff. 54a (figure shown with folded hand before Babur); 208b (a noble standing before king, dressed in yellow Qaba); 252a (a noble shown standing with the palms resting on a stick in the right extreme above); 260 (standing figure -extreme above in the left margin dressed in white turban and red trouser); 418(a figure shown dressed in a crimson red gadar in the centre of above group); ff.2,80,83,128,163,190,199 contain other such examples. Similarly in the Moscow copy of the same MS. six illustrations: 10,16,18,24,25,64 display the figures with the upper part of the body longer than the lower one, down the waist. And more instances may be seen in the illustrations contained in other MSS.: Tarikh-i-Alfi; Razmnama (Jaipore) Akbarnama (V.A.) etc. etc.
37. "The following is also the proper length or breadth of the various parts of the body:- The breadth of an eye is one digit or angul; the ears are situated at a distance of two anguls from the eyes; the nose is two anguls long; the mouth and the chin measure two anguls(mouth one angul, chin one angul); the length of the neck is three anguls; the breadth of the temple is four anguls; length of the shoulder blades is one span;length of the arm including the hand is four spans,length of the stocach is four spans etc". Ibid.
38. Ladies figures are drawn slim in body. The upper part of the body is always drawn short than the lower-down the waist. Tarikh; ff. 8b,40b,72a,205b,284a(Patna) ;Razm; pls.5,7,19,27,116,118,127(Jaipore); Tuzuk; f. 295 (B.M.); pl. 1 (Moscow); Akb; f. 143b (C.B.); pls. 8, 79 (V.A.).



PLATE LVII

Ladies though rarely depicted in the illustrations, are painted with similar expertise.[39] The lady is also a type. With the help of slight variations in the nose and chin, the same standard form seem to be repeated everywhere. Nose is drawn invariably longish with pointed or round tip. A small round chin is replaced by a bulky chin. The eyes, forehead, lips, bulk of the face remain as usual drawn on set standardised lines (plate LVII). The female face and body carries a certain delicacy about it but for distinguishing it from the male, the artist depends mostly on the clothes, hair, ornaments and other such peculiarities. On these also he depends for distinguishing between the status of one female figure from another as in plates 1 and 32 of the <u>Tuzuk</u> (Moscow) showing a princess with her attending maids. Their faces are oval in shape, with round chins and longish noses. It seems that female figures are drawn according to strict rules, so that the figures appearing in different manuscripts and drawn by different artists do not substantially differ from each. The examples found in the plates referred above may be found repeated in the B.M. copy of the same manuscript,[40] though there is a clear difference among the male members. A striking example of this kind of

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39. <u>Akb</u>; ff. 25,143 (C.B.); pls. 8,9,46,78,79,82,97(V.A.); <u>Tarikh</u>; ff. 7b,8b,12a,40b,72a,104a,128b,134a,205b,241b,284a(Patna); <u>Razm</u>; pls. 5,7,10,13,14,17,18,19,21,27,40,41,68,72,78,79,81,84, 86,92,101,116,118,121,124,125,120,127(Jaipore); <u>Tuzuk</u>; pls. 1,32, 67 (Moscow); ff. 13,256,295,314 (B.M.).

40. <u>Tuzuk</u>; ff. 13, 256, 314 (B.M.).

formula painting is provided by the figures of two ladies shown in folio 13 and 256. These are different individuals but have a striking resemblance with each other.

The same is true of common ladies. Facial lines of the three female musicians shown on plate 8 (Akb. V.A.) in a group holding castanets, duhul etc. etc. are so similar that they appear twin sisters. Similar case is with the figures shown in the lower margin - a group of three ladies two of them holding changs; and the dancers. All these figures may be taken as three different types which imply basically common standards : curved eyebrow, long eyes with heavy upper lid, long pointed or round - tipped nose, a clearly distinguished round chin, thin small lips - all composed in a round or egg shaped outline of a fleshy face. Similarly, the ladies belonging to different strata represented on plate 78 (Ibid.), sketched by Kesu Kalan have striking semblance. In the other work of the same artist on plate 79 (Ibid) the female dancers and musicians are drawn again on the set proportions of the facial lines - common in the former example. In a example from Akb. (C.B.), a scene depicting rejoicings at the birth of Salim, composed with a musical party in the centre represents female dancers in the accompaniment of male and female musicians and a few lady attendants. Here also the painter is assisted by a few restricted lines and standards : oval face, slightly pointed nose, small round chin and long eyes with curved eye-brow (f. 143b). In all the instances the difference occurs only on the basis of the skill of draftmanship of an artist; whereas the style remains the same.

Ladies painted by Kesu, Khem, Jagan, Hussain Naqqash, Lal, Madhu, Mohammad Kashmiri Sahu, and Paras in the <u>Tarikh</u> (Patna) include royal-princesses, female attendants, dancers and musicians etc.[41] A number of female figures represented in folio 134a - all are identical. Similarly ladies shown on folio 72a of the same manuscript are a type. The central figure of a royal lady wearing long cap, attending maids wearing similar caps and dancers etc. are sterotype. An unsigned illustration on folio 40b has displayed ladies of different professions. Semblance is the striking feature of them. On the above part of the folio 284a rhythmic figures of ladies drawn in a few lines and curves evidence the perfectness of an artist in the representation of varying postures and actions. Simplicity of form is the main characteristics of these figures. No doubt, the monotonous effect has produced in this part of the illustration due to the similarity in costumes, ornaments head-gears etc; and semblance in the bulk of body and contours of faces. More-or-less the monotony is released by the figure of princess drawn in the European tradition. The deep shading, heavy folds in her cloths, the style of covering the head reminiscent to Virgin Mary; all suggest European style. In the other instance, treatment of the Draupadi's <u>Sari</u> - a costume worn by Hindu ladies, shown on plate 10 (<u>Razm</u>; Jaipore) with thick shaded lines and deep curves; is also an introduction of the European technique of colouring in the Mughal <u>Qalam</u>. It was an starting face of borrowing style and methods of Art from European Source.

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41. <u>Tarikh</u>; ff. 7b,8b,12a,40b,72a,104a,128b,134a,205b,241b, 284a (Patna).

The painters of the <u>Razm</u> (Jaipore) have drawn ladies in a strict profile,[42] though depiction remains the same. In a few instances the eyes have become vide.[43] The face is mostly round and the small, round chin is drawn with large cheeks.[44]

The full figure of a lady is also a type. These are directly drawn on set formula lines -- viz. long slim body, a thin waist, braod span of shoulders, high-breasts, long hand with longish fingers and generally the part of the body above the waist shorter than the rest below.[45]

The characteristic features of ladies belonging to the nobility and the commoner's class are alike. For female face, the artist evidently depend to a large extent on imagination. Few standard lines and curves that served his purpose came handy to him and these be made use of, for the representation of ladies with such adjustments as a pose demand.

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42. Ladies are depicted on 28 illustrated plates: 5,7,10,13,14,17,18,19, 21,27,40,41,68,72,78,79,81,84,86,92,101,116,118,121,124,125,120, 127; Sketched by 13 artists - Basawan; Daswant; Jagan; Jagjiwan; Kanha; Khemkaran; Lal; Mohammad Sharif; Mukhlis; Mukund; Paras; Tara and Tulsi. They are assisted by Anis; Babu;Bhagwan; Chatarabhuj; Chittra; Dhanno; Ghulam Ali; Jaswant; Kanha; Kesu; Lal; Madhu; Miskin or Miskinah, Mukhlis and Ramdas.

43. <u>Ibid</u>; (faces of ladies).

44. <u>Ibid</u>; Ladies faces (specially drawn in profile) are heavy than those depicted of men. The painter has increased the distance lying in between the nostrils and the ear-lobes; so as to provide an ample space to an elongated eye. This is invariably true of the female faces where an elongated eyes are employed. (See also F.N. 19); plate LVII, fig. 4.

45. See F.N. 38.

The portraits of ladies depicted in the illustrations are therefore not the record of actual likeness but are imaginary pictures. An artist had hardly any opportunity to see the subject of his portrait and under the circumstances a few favourable set lines become handy to him in the production of an ideal type. A few characteristics, in the treatment of women appear borrowed from the Indian tradition.[46]

But the Mughal painters were not quite imitators, who adopted others ways of expression in their own mode of depiction and thus the identity of the Mughal school remained distinct. In the Razmnama illustrations only in three instances winged - human figures are represented, knowledge of which seems borrowed from the European paintings; appear as a variation of the angels depicted casually in the latter. Round heads with small, curly-hair; muscular-body; thick, shaded-lines and wings on the back-all justify the knowledge of European Art in the background; and the whole some-effect of three-quarter faces, expression depicted through lines and the treatment of the wings - evident the originality of the Mughal artist (pl. 16; Razm, Jaipore). Other two illustrations depicting angels in a garden or sky, are identically the pieces of an

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46. "It is however, in the treatment of women that the painters have borrowed from Indian traditions. This might have been due to the unfavourable reaction of the Mughal painters who failed to distinguish between the facial characteristics of male and female figure. On the other hand the charm of Indian women with their lovely costume must have appealed to them strongly, and hence whenever women are represented in parofile or three quarter view; the treatment of their eyes is like patola -a trait borrowed from Jain paintings". The Technique; p. 92.



PLATE LIX



PLATE LVIII



PLATE Lx

European Arts (Pls. 19, 20; Razm, Baroda). The long flowing costumes with heavy folds; posture of their hands; books with them; hair-style; deep shaded-lines; the display of roundness and depth in the object - all are the borrowed elements, assimilated in the Mughal Qalam - tending towards a new trend in the history of Indian Art (plate LVIII & LIX).

The rhythm of an action taking place in a scene, is sought to be depicted through a partial participation of figures in it. A gesture by the hand, the positioning of a leg or some ruffles in the costumes and such other exterior motions are utilised to produce the responses. The face, the eyes, the lips remain absolutely indifferent, even the attitude of the body is not wholly adjusted.

The hands, unless they are involved in a specific action, are shown in a few standard attitudes - folded on the chest, languidly hanging gripped in front, palms closed or opened with one or two upraised fingers or even raised flatly with the fingers and thumb raised upward, in the typically Indian fashion.[47] These postures seem to be introduced in order to emphasis the nature of action taking place in the scene (plate LX).

Ornamentation of the human figures is done by decorating their costumes, arms and armour etc. Care is taken to differentiate among the designs and motifs given to the figures appearing in a single scene. Sometimes these patterns are so prominent as to attract the eye away from the face.

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47. "An important contribution of the indigenour Indian art to the Mughal School of painting is mudras or graceful hand poses". Ibid; p. 64.

ANIMAL FIGURES

Animal study in the illustrations is the most significant aspect. The artists were endowed with keen observation. A good many representation of animals and birds, painted separately or together with others in action as in the scenes of hunting, catching of birds and animal fight etc. are the example of realistic art and minute detail work. Animal portraits are not wanting in the art-collection of the Mughals. Many of the artists showed their skill in the portray of the animals and a few of them specialised and produced masterpieces. They excell in capturing the likeness of the animals in all sorts of natural postures, bringing out the involvement of muscles and part of the body with almost graphic perfection. They can enliven expression of a ferocity or compassion or fear and bodily tensions with a virtuousity that comes only through the coordination of a high degree of skill and power of observation.

In the manuscript Anwar-i-suhaili (Varanasi) animals are the subject of some tales and fables.[1] Assembly of beasts, beasts at their prey etc. are the themes to accommodate various species of birds and quadrupeds.[2] Various copies of the Tuzuk-i-Baburi manuscript contain

1. Anwar; ff. 17,25,30,48,55,71,80,144 and 160 (Varanasi).

2. Tuzuk; pls. 25,42,43,47,53 - 86, 113 (37 illuminated pages) B.M., pls. 44,63,64,74,80,81,88 -113, 139 (33 illuminated pages) Delhi; pls. 22,25,26,36-47 (15 illuminated pages) Moscow.

a series of the illustrations displaying flora and fauna. Vivid portrayal of animals in groups is the central theme of the scenes depicting huntings, trapping of birds and animal-fights. Besides it, their portraits in pair or single are the subject of whole pictures. Akbari painters have equally favoured quadrupeds, birds and aquatic animals. The Akbarnama manuscript is equally rich for the group portraits of animal life in hunting and expedition scenes.[3] In these miniatures animals are drawn in pair or groups - oftentimes various species of birds and animals within one compositional group. The last is true of hunting and bird trapping scenes.

Animal portraits are blended harmoniously. In these reproductions the bright-colour- effect as usual in the Mughal miniatures has been avoided. Landscapes are subdued in harmonious colours. Various colours are painted in softer tones and thincolour wash of light tints are filled in the objects. The soft colourscene, subdued in tone has enhanced the soothing effect in the landscape, in which mostly the green and blue pigments dominate the whole view. In these miniatures, accuracy in form and display of as many details as possible, appear to be the keynotes of the artist's skill. Well defined outlines and maximum visuality are the chief characteristics. The animals are invariably drawn in profile and although figures of individual animals in the state of rest are also drawn, it is the state of violent

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3. Akb; pls. 17,18,22,24,40,44,81,84,90,92,93(V.A.); f. 155b (C.B.).

action which has fascinated the artists most. The Mughal painters differ from the Persian style in as much as the animals are seldom shown in the state of action.[4] The artist of the former not only displays a great variety of postures but go still further to make the representation more sensitive. Animal and bird figures are drawn in their natural surroundings.

Attention is also paid to the use of such pigments as reflect the actual colour of their skin and fur etc. One can not fail to admire the minute observation of the artists in which the characteristic features of the various animals, e.g. hair, horn, fur, ear and tail etc. are so realistically depicted as to enable one to distinguish their species at the first glance. Even with the rudimentary knowledge of their species one can distinguish them.[5] However, it can not be said that the birds and animals shown in the miniatures were drawn from the life, but their remains no doubt that the artist had painted them after a careful observation. For which he would have seen the object from the near and many times. As his creations are not mere the copy of the external appearance of the animals but are the truthful

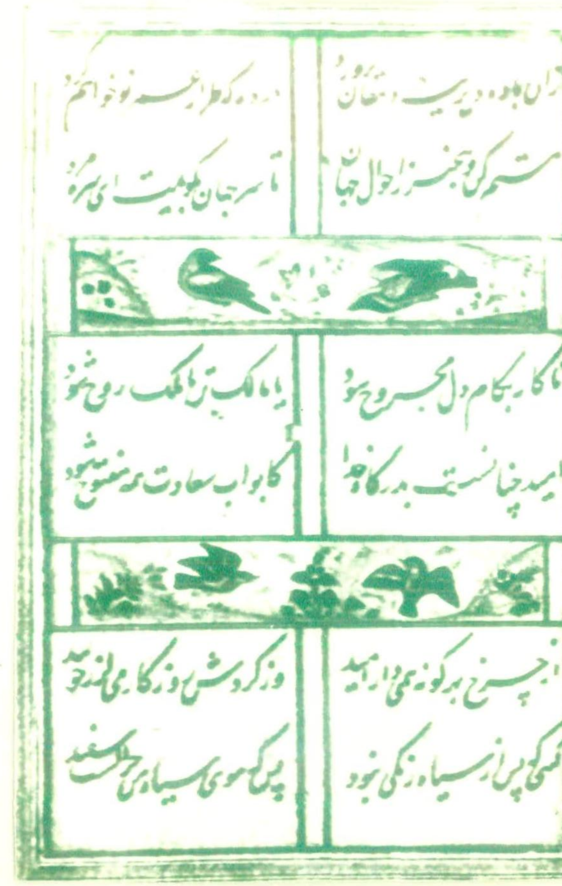
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4. "But the animals are atonce more natural and more self possessed than the remote and exqusite animals of the Persian school. They are more deeply engaged by the action and with the term of the system as much realism is given to the architecture and figure drawing by shading and modelling as possible". Barrett & Grey; p.81.

5. Plate 7 of the <u>Tuzuk</u> (Moscow) contains the drawings of three dogs: a Himalaya short-haired greyhound and a pair of adiag dogs; in illustration 22 of the same manuscript adiag dog also can be seen, this folio has also a neel gai antilope lying in a catch of hunted animals. The one with a black mane and a larger tail is the onager. Folio 378 of the <u>Tuzuk</u> (B.M.) shows an elephant bearing spots on the ear, trunk and belly which was then commonly found



PLATE Lxı



Lxı

illustration of their mood, nature and emotions. For the purpose, besides the accuracy in line and form, actual representation of colour; the artist also depends on nature. Every figure is drawn in its natural surrounding. Their study leaves no place to doubt in the perfection of the work of Mughal artists in the portrayal of animals.

The Mughal artist shows the expansion of his thoughts by making the uses of bird's figures as decorative pieces on the page of equisite calligraphy.[6] Figures are drawn in narrow stripes in pair or groups on the above margin or in the centre of the page (plate LXI).

Under the present assessment, no less than forty names[7] of artists

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Contd:....

5. in the region of Kalpi. Scene of catching birds (f.190 B.M.) pl.21(Moscow), Bird trappers (Fog Art Museum), published in The Art of Mughal India, pl. 9- shows various kinds of eves such as hoopoes,parrots, ravents, quils, sparrows, wild doves, cranes, flemingos etc.etc. The Scenes depicting huntings, animal fights and the portraits of animals exhibit different species of lions, tigers (Anwar, ff. 30,48,80(Varanasi); Akb; 15,17,18,23,24,92 (V.A.); ff. 148,155b,(C.B.); antelopes - stag, black buck, chital,nilgao and other species (Akb;pls. 27,77,92,93(V.A.); Tuzuk pls. 63,64,80,89,90,91,139(Delhi); pls.42,43,53,61-63,113 (B.M.);pls.25,26,37,38(Moscow),Birds-peacocks, Indian parrots, shorak, pindavali(a kind of shork),Kanjal,pulpaiker,Kharchal, Charz,Saras,maniks,stroks,white buzal,ducks,magpies,wagtails, swallows,kuil,woodpeckers,partridges,cock,flamingo, shark etc. (Tuzuk; pls.44,94-109(Delhi);pls.25,65-82(B.M.);pls.39-44(Moscow); and water animals-water lion,siysar,sea pig,gharial,fish(Kakka) and Indian frogs etc.(Tuzuk;pls.112,113(Delhi);pls.83-86(B.M.) pls.45-47(Moscow).
6. Diwan (C.B. Collection).
7. Abdullah, Annant, Asi Kahar, Banwari Kalan,Banwari Khurd, Bande, Basawan,Bhawani,chatur,Dhanno,Dharmdas, Farrukh chela, Fattu, Hussain Naqqash,Ibrahim Kahar,Jahannath,Keshav Kahar,Keshav

Contd.........


درکابل قوراتوبی گویند یک دیگر خرچل است کلانی
برابر توغداق بوده باشد غالبا توغداق هندوستانست
شت او بسیار لذیذ دار است گوشت ران بعضی مرغان خوب
ی باشد بعضی را گوشت سینه از خرچل گوشت تمام اعضای او لذت
ر و خوب است دیگر چرز است جثه او از توغدری چیزی باریک تر

PLATE LXII

appear on the miniatures displaying the animal life. Greater number of these illustrations have been attributed in the name of Mansur, Shankar Gujrati, Basawan, Sarvan, Lal, Dhanno, Miskin, Mahesh, Surya Gujrati, Bhavani, Hussain Naqqash and Tara. Manohar, Dhanraj, Farrukh chela, Shivdas, Paras, Abdullah, Fattu, Anant, Lumanka, Lachhman, Jagannath, Payag, Ramdas, Asi and Bande etc. have contributed single pieces of their art.[8]

Miniatures done by Mansur are superb creations and have surpassed other artists in skill of draught-manship, accuracy of form and the line-work. Although Mansur has not been mentioned by Abul Fazl, began his career in Akbar's reign and left many pictures from animal life. Two hunting scenes[9] in the Akbarnama (V.A.) are his works. The series of eight miniatures[10] painted by Mansur is presented in the British

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Contd .....7.

Gujrati, Kesu Khurd, Khem, Lachhman, Lal, Launga, Lumanka, Mahesh, Mansur, Makra, Miskin, Mukund, Nand Gwalari, Narain, Payag, Pidarath, Ramdas, Sarwan, Shankar or Shanker Gujrati, Shyam, Surjan, Surya Gujrati and Tara.

8. Manohar (Tuzuk, f. 283(B.M.); Dhanraj (Ibid, f. 305); Farrukh chela (Anwar, f.30 (Varanasi); Shivdas (Tuzuk, f.351(B.M.); Paras (Ibid; f. 347) Abdullah (Ibid, f. 284); Fattu, Ibid; pl.109(Delhi); Anant (Ibid, pl.108); Lachhman (Anwar; f.160(Varansi); Jagannath (Tuzuk; f.352(B.M.); Payag (Ibid; pl.97(Delhi); Ramdas (Ibid; pl. 62(B.M.); Asi Kahar (Ibid, pl.101(Delhi); Bande (Ibid, pl.103); Lumanka (Tarikh; f. 331a).

9. Akb; pls. 11/117 and 62/117 (V.A.); Fine Art of India and Ceylon, p. 193.

10. Tuzuk, ff. 387-89 (B.M.); Ibid.





PLATE Lxiii (A)

(B)

Museum manuscript of the Tuzuk-i-Baburi. Roughly speaking, the artist Mansur was in the budding- stage of his tallent under Akbar's reign and the maturity in work was still wanting. Even then the animal studies done by him are excellent example of minute scientific observation. The details are correctly rendered in them and the colours are vivid and brilliant (plate LXII).

Basawan, a most talented painter of the 16th century, is known for the illustration of numerous manuscripts. Various themes could be executed by him with equall facility. His name appears on more than a hundred illuminated-folios.[11] Most exciting scene depicting the emperor Akbar hunting near Gwalior in 1561, attributed in the name of Basawan and Tara Kalan, is a masterpiece creation from the Akbar-nama (V.A.)[12](plate XIX). It is the example of joint work: Sketch (tarah) by Basawan and colouring (amal) by Tara Kalan. However, C. Welch is of the opinion that the tiger shown beneath the Akbar's sword is probably entirely painted by Basawan.[13] In most of his works Basawan is assisted with other painters[14] and produced fine pictures when he got a talented artist like Tara, Miskin, Bhim Gujrati etc.

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11. Encyclopedia of World Art, Vol.II; pp. 384-87.
12. Akb; pl. 17 (V.A.): Tarah by Basawan and Amal by Tara Kalan.
13. The Art of Mughal India; p. 28.
14. Akb; pl.17(tarah Basawan, amal Tara Kalan); pl.18(Tarah Basawan, amal Sarwan); pl.22 (tarah Basawan, amal Chatur); pl.24 (tarah Basawan; amal Dharmdas) V.A.

15. Ibid; pl. 22.

at his side. In the other example[15] two thundering elephants shown crossing a bridge, Basawan has preferred diagonal composition. The display of violent force and physical movement in the animal figures in a well balanced composition reveals the skill of the artist (plate LXIII A).

Abul Fazl mentions him immediately after Daswant and reckons his tallent. In his remarks, he was most excellent in backgrounding, portrait painting, distribution of colours and several other branches.[16] Animal drawings sketched by Basawan vividly report the action. Mostly, he composed the animals in pair or groups and attained the fame for his animal drawings.

[17] Lal seems to prefer the portray of deers. Accuracy in their form and their changing moods and postures, delicacy in their nature all are remarkably guarded by him (plate LXIII B). Like Basawan, he is also assisted by other painters.[18] Kesu Khurd, Khem etc. worked with him as a side artist.[19] The drawings composed by Miskin are distinguished for rhythmic, forceful lines. Elephants drawn on plate 90 (Akb.V.A.),

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15. Ibid; pl. 22.
16. Ain, Vol. I; p. 114.
17. Ibid.
18. Akb; pls. 44, 92 and 93 (V.A.).
19. Ain, Vol. I, p. 114.

128 (A)



PLATE LXIV



PLATE Lxv

These cases are exclusively employed to hold the bows only. The bow is carried in another case hung on the left side of the gridle. It is of the shape of a half bow and is sufficient to accommodate only as much.[73] The other half of the bow remains outside of it. It is a flat case, broad at mouth, one side straight and the other sloping to a point.

The _tarkash_ shown on plate xii, fig. 15; No. 16, p.117 in the _Ain_ (Bloch.);[74] is different from those represented in the miniatures. Here, Blochmann confounds Quiver (_tarkash_) with the bow-case (_qirban_; p. 963, Steingass). Both the _tarkash_ and the _qirban_ may be plain or embellished with floral motifs.

The Matchlock; a _tufang_ (Steingass, p. 324).

This kind of matchlock that are found in the illustrations have a shape and mechanism identical with the earliest hand guns developed in Europe in the middle of 15th century.[75] Akbar made a great contribution towards the manufacture of matchlocks. They include guns and cannons.[76] Abul Fazl has mentioned that with the exception of Turkey, probably no other country had comparison of the Mughals in this field.

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73. _Ibid_; figs. 15-17.
74. _Ibid_; figs. 28-31.
75. _Ain_ (Bloch.), Vol. I; p. 119.
76. _Ibid_; Vol. I; p. 119.

The hand gun (narnal)[77] has a long barrel mounted on a but and is shot with the but resting on the right shoulder. The pivoted cock hammers the priming-pan containing some sort of ingetious material, probably a rope soaked in combustible solution which is lighted to give a burning flame or a hot coal. The sooner the ramrad is pressed, cock strikes the priming pan, and the ball of gun shot are shoved into the barrel through the nozzle. The pargaz,[78] a groove into which the ramrod is put could be made in a side also. Barrels are long gradually tappering towards the end opening like a funnel. These are embellished with floral or geometrical bands. The bottom is fixed transversely to the barrels (nals; steingass p. 1378). Their stocks are also ornamented.

The gajnal[79] rarely shown on folio 187b (Akb. C.B.); is similar to the former with the difference of the size. It is heavier than that and carried by an elephant on his back. The gun is placed in a howda, resting on two bars crossing digonally. It seems a device of setting the nal to different angles.[80]

The guns are of two length:[81] 72 inches or 45 inches. The long ones are given the name of damanak.[82]

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77. "Guns which a single man may carry are called narnāls". Ibid.
78. Plate LXXXV, figs. 1-3.
79. Ain (Bloch.) Vol. I. p. 117 (a gun which easily be carried by a single elephant).
80. Plate LXXXV, fig. 6.
81. Ain (Bloch.) Vol.I; p. 120. (Irvine mentions their length 66 inches and 41 inches respectively. The Army; p. 103).
82. Ain (Bloch.) Vol. I; p. 120.

[83] The cannon is also of the usual time rested on two or four wheels depending on its size and weight. These are generally embellished with metallic bands geometrical, engraved-desings. Some of the cannons are very long barrelled, sharply tap:ering and heavy funnel shaped nozzle. [84] Abul Fazl has mentioned that the guns are made of such a size that to transport them several elephants and a thousand of cattle are employed.

[85] Lastly, the guns (<u>jazail</u>; Steingass, p. 362); resting on a tripod, is shown employed in the siege. This is a long barrelled gun. Abul Fazl has mentioned that for the siege and naval engagements there are separate guns, but has not given their description. The cannon could also be raised to an angle. For the purpose triangular, wooden-stand having a sloping plateform, is employed. [86]

<u>THE ARMOUR</u> :

The Mughal army is shown well armoured while taking the field and that include those charged with such auxiliary assignments as

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83. Plate LXXXV, figs. 11,12.
84. <u>Ain</u> (Bloch.) Vol. I, p. 119; Akb; pl. 72 (V.A.).
85. Plate LXXXV, figs. 9,10.
86. <u>Ibid</u>; figs. 7,8.

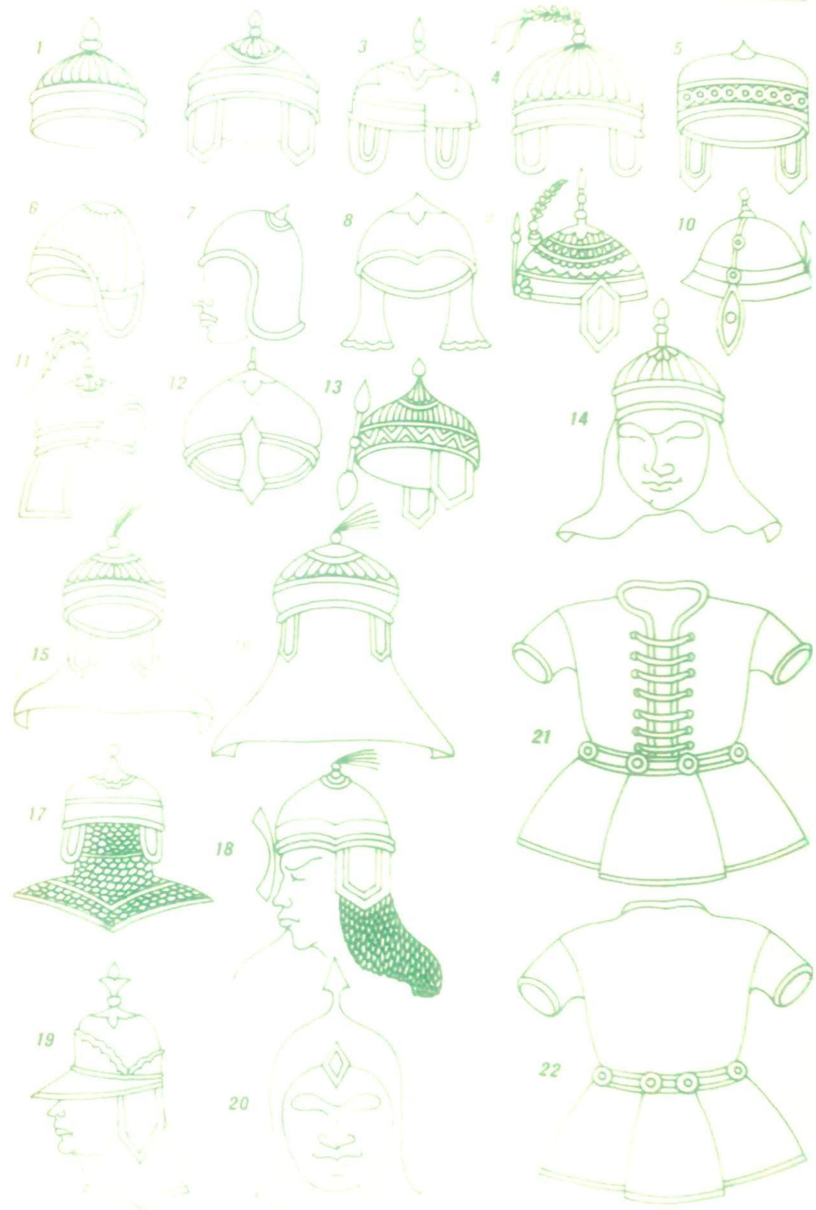


PLATE LXXXVI

beating up the drums, driving the elephants and carrying of royal insignia. The metallic armour of a soldier consists of five to six pieces including a helmet, a coat of mail, arm-guards, leg-guards and sometimes a pair of plates fastened on the chest and the back.

The helmet :

The helmets are all dome shaped, plain or foliated but always surmounted by a pinnacle shaped like an arrow head or a plume or just a knob on it.[1] The various helmets represented in the illustrations can be broadly divided into three categories which has already been stated by Abul Fazl in the Ain.[2] On called dubalghah[3] is just a head cover intended to protect the skull. The other two are called zirih kulah.[4] One of these is provided with side plates to protect the ear. Separate pieces of the plates are connected to the helmet or the helmet may be moulded in one piece with them. Plates are round or V shaped or sometimes foliated at the end. The other has this as well as a broad chain-sheet at the back, covering the back and sides of the neck. This sheet is made of small chains or plates hinged together. Casually, the chain-mail could be connected with dubalghah. To protect the nose, sometimes,[5] a long, narrow and flat plate having an arrow head on either sides is fixed in the front of the helmet.

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1. Plate LXXXVI.
2. Ain (Bloch.)vol. I, pls. xiii, xiv; pp. 118-119.
3. Plate LXXXVI, figs. 1,12,18.
4. Ibid; figs. 2-7.
5. Ibid; figs. 12,13,18,19.



PLATE LXXXVII

Besides these, rarely; we come across of an European helmets[6] consisting an extra plate to protect fore-head. The dome of the helmet is slightly elongated and surrounded by a pinnacle at the top like that of the Mughals. The helmet shown in the folio 61 (Tarikh, Patna) intermediary of the Mughal and European helmets; seems the innovation of the Mughals.[7]

Babur[8] mentions that a soft cap known as duwulagha burki was worn first on the head and the helmet was worn over it, to make it comfortable.

The baktar[9] :

It is a coat of mail and is worn under the zirih. Its long sleeves coming out of the sleeves of the zirih and are close fitting to the arm. It is often made of chips of metal arranged like fish scale. It has a high collar.

The Zirih[10] :

Another coat of mail, the zirih is made of metallic chains. It has a plain collar and half sleeves and is buttoned or chained in the front. On the whole it looks like a jacket.

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6. Ibid; fig. 19.
7. Ibid; fig. 11.
8. Baburnama, Vol. I; p. 167.
9. Ain (Bloch.), Vol. I, fig. 47, pl. xiii; no. 58; p. 118.
10. Plate LXXXVI; figs. 21, 22.

The Sadiqi[11] :

It has closely resembled the zirih with the difference of length.

The Joshan :

It is a breast plate, fastened on the chest by cross strips running over the shoulders and fastened at the back. The figure of Joshan given in the Ain (Bloch.) on plate VIII (no. 48), appears to be a breast plate covering the chest and stomach.[12] Blochmann has described it as an armour of the chest and body. Hence, the plates represented in the illustrations[13] are an armour for chest only. A similar plate was worn on the back also. These are round in shape, with plain or foliated edges and sometimes embellished with floral patterns in the centre. Plates - rectangular or square in shape are not used frequently.

Probably, these separate pieces: plates for the chest and back, were an alternative of chahar-aina.[14] The latter, is an armour employed to protect the chest and the back and has been mentioned by Abul Fazl. It consists of four plates square or slightly rectangular plates-two small and two large. All these plates are connected by chains and are worn so that the larger plates cover the chest and the back while the smaller ones protect the sides. The side plates have a depression

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11. Plate LXXXVII, fig. 1.
12. Ain (Bloch.) Vol. I, fig. 48, pl. xiii; no. 59; p. 118.
13. Plate LXXXVII, figs. 13-18.
14. Ain (Bloch.) Vol. I, fig. 49, pl. xiii; no. 60; p. 118.

at the top fitting the arm-pit. All these plates have decorated borders and are not flat but slightly bent inside in view of the curvatures of the chest. It must have been worn under the *zirih* as it is not visible to us in the illustrations. Babur also mentions[15] a chest guard by the name of *gharicha*.

The rag[16] :

It is a leg guard made of small pieces of steel and chains and covers the whole leg right from the toe to the middle of thigh. Thus in one piece it looks like a leg with a foot corner, and covers the foreleg and the thigh. This is different from iron socks and leg-guards. The latter are not used along with this.

The muzah-i-ahani[17] :

This is the iron sock covering the foot and foreleg. It is made of two separate pieces. The front has a shin guard and a cover for the upper surface of the foot. This is made of a sheet of metal and both of its pieces seem either cast or connected by means of hinges. The second part of the *muzah-i-ahani* comprises a guard for the calf muscles, the heel and the sole. This piece is worn separately and hinged to the shin guard. It seems to be made of iron stripes.

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15. *Baburnama*, Vol. I; p. 315.

16. *Ain* (Bloch.) Vol. I, fig. 56, pl. xiv; no. 69; p. 118.

17. Plate LXXXVII, fig. 5; *Ibid*; fig. 57, pl. xiv; no. 71; p. 118.

The leg guard[18] :

The leg guard is worn as an alternative to the mauz-i-ahani and the rag. As to compare the last two it allows for greater mobality and freeness. It is made of several plates rounded at the ends and bent about the curve of the leg half way above and below the knee. The back part of the leg remain bare except for stripes used to bind it to the leg. An additional knee-cap is provided in the middle.

Another kind of the leg guard is a single sheet probably of cast iron or brass.[19] It covers the thigh, the knee and the upper part of the shin-bone. Leg guards are made of varying length. The shortest covered the thigh and knee only. The other two protected full or half of the shin bone respectively. The longest of its type rested below on the foot. The former three are frequently used. Casually, a chain-mail[20] is fastened on the shin bone as an alternative of the long leg guard. These leg guards may be plain or engraved with floral patterns.

The dastanwa[21] :

It is an arm guard composed of two pieces connected by laces or chains. The large piece covers the hand from the wrist to the middle

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18. Plate LXXXVII, figs. 7-12.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid; fig. 7.
21. Ibid; figs. 2-4.



PLATE LXXXVIII

of the fore arm. It is worn so that the larger piece covers always that side of the hand which faces the enemy while weilding the sword. The *Ain*[22] also shows an extension in this armour so as to provide a covering for the back of the palm.

Rarely, we come across of a round plate, moulded to the form of an arm, employed as an armour.[23] It is provided with strips to fasten and is worn so that the armour covers always that side of the arm which faces out.

Armour of the horse :

The armour of the horse consists of two pieces: one covering the head and the face, and the other the body.

The Qashqah :

A single steel plate moulded to the form of the horse's head and face, with holes for the ears and the eyes, is what is known as *Qashqah*.[24] It is tied with strips running about the jaws. Some of the horses are shown armoured with a smaller head cover leaving the eye, the whole mandible and fore-head bare. The *Qashqah* shown in the *Ain*[25] has a decorative pattern engraved upon it but those shown in the illustrations are plain and decorated the both.

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22. *Ain* (Bloch.), Vol.I, fig.55, pl. xiv; no.68; p. 118.
23. Plate LXXXVII, fig. 4.
24. Plate LXXXVIII, fig. 1,2.
25. *Ain* (Bloch.), Vol. I, fig. 60, pl. xiv; no. 74; p. 119.

The Urtuk :

This is the main armour of the horse and protects the body from the shoulders to the tail and from the back down to the chest leaving only the legs bare.[26] It is made of large iron plates or chains or of both. The joints of this armour are rivetted with nails having large floral heads which seem also a decoratives. At the base of it usually a lace is provided and this too is a decorative device.

The armour of the body, called urtuk is made in varying forms and sizes. First form covered the animal from neck down to the chest and the back and belly, the second form left the neck bare. The last protected only the back and belly. Another armour was provided with the latter to guard the chest.[27] Ain[28] displays two of its forms similar to the former two types. Although the last too is frequently used.

The neck - plate[29]

This is an one piece-armour made of chains and small plates hinged together, measuring the full length and moulded to the form of the animal's neck. The straps are provided to fasten it around the neck.

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26. Plate LXVIII, figs. 6-8.
27. Ibid; fig. 5.
28. Ain (Bloch.) Vol. I, fig. 58,59, pl. xiv; no. 72; p. 119.
29. Plate LXVIII, figs. 3,4.

It may be made of two separate pieces, fastened on either sides of the neck with straps running about the mane and below part of neck.

The chest-armour[30]

It consists of a metallic plate moulded to the form of the animal's chest. The gardani,[31] an armour of the horse is listed in the Ain. Abul Fazl has not given the description of it. Most probably, gardani was an armour of the neck, corresponding to the neck-armour mentioned above. Although it remains to be ascertained.

Armour of the elephant :

The illustrations give a detailed picture of elephant's armour, while in the Ain,[32] complete list of it is not given. Among these only the pakhar[33] is described by Abul Fazl. It is made of steel plates and chains and consists of two parts : one covering the head and the other the trunk. Two varying shapes of the trunk's armour are displayed in the illustrations; one of which covers the full length of the trunk whereas the other, only the half of it.[34] Both these may be made with or without the head-plate. Pakhar is

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30. Ibid; fig. 5.
31. Ain(Bloch.), Vol.I, no.75; p. 119. Irvine considers the gardani as a part of the Urtuk; (The army, p.72). Blochmann however distinguishes it and treats it separately as a round shield for protecting the front below the neck where it is hung; (Ain (Bloch.), Vol. I, p.119).
32. Ibid; p. 136.
33. Ibid; no. 21.
34. Plate LXXXVIII, figs. 9-13.

embellished by floral or geometrical motifs. A plate just below the forehead is decorated with a plumage made of the tail of the Tibetan-Yak. In addition, occasionally the head cover has two long ears of steel.

The armour which covers the back and belly of an elephant,[35] resembles with the urtuk, the body-armour of the horse; though its name is yet to be ascertained. It is made of steel plates and chains, usually provided with a lace at the base - a decorative device.

Other defensive measures :

1. The Sabat :

The sabat is what may be called a moving fort. It is a high wall designed like the walls of a fort with parapets and bastions.[36] It is high enough to provide shelter to the army during attack on a fort. With the wall being moved closer and closer to the enemy's fort and the army safely entranced behind attack could be launched from a close range, until the gates were reached and broken down. According to the Akbarnama,[37] it was made of mud, was very wide and zig-zag of shape (Diwar-i-gilin-i-marpech). It may have been however of wood

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35. Ibid; figs. 14, 15.

36. Plate LXXXVII, figs. 21, 22.

37. Akbarnamah (Lucknow edition), Vol. II, p. 114, line 6; and p. 245; line 11.

also, which at any rate would be more convenient to carry and lighter. Rumikhan[38] is reported to have erected a similar wall on boats.

2. The ladder :

Complementary to the moving fort is the ladder, a conventional means used for scaling the walls of a fort.[39] It is mentioned in the Baburnama[40] that the ladders were sometimes so wide that two to three men could simultaneously climb it.

Mention may be made also of some auxiliaries which, may not be classified among the implements of war but could be used as such or in connection of some other related function.

For instance,[41] rocks and boulders were kept ready inside the forts for rolling down over the enemy attempting to scale the walls of the fort, or for throwing them like missiles from the parapets when the soldiers appraoched within a close range. The Manjaniq, a machine employed for throwing heavy stones is shown engaged during the seige.[42]

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38. "Rūmīkhān who was the paragon of the age for overcoming grant forts and sky-high castles, and who had sultan Bahadur after the victory of Mandasōr, and been enrolled as one of his Majesty's servants, and exalted by the office Mīr Ātash (Director of Ordnance) constructed a covered way (Sābāt)upon boats and arranged such a roof (Satha) with strong partitions(?) on the top of a plateform of planks that the ingenious and skilful bit the finger of astonishment in admiration of the workmanship". Akbarnama, Vol. I; p. 331.
39. Tuzuk; f. 468b (B.M.); Tarikh; ff. 15a, 68a (Patna).
40. Baburnama, Vol. I; p. 143.
41. Tuzuk; f. 84a (B.M.).
42. Plate CXI, fig. 28.

The multipurpose rope was another such implement. Besides the various functions in which it must have been utilised as a tightening or binding agent, it was also used for arresting a flying enemy.[43] The rope was long and could be thrown like a sling upto some distnace. At the end of it was a large noose with a slip-knot. The noose was skilfully thrown; and no sooner than the neck or the body of the man was trapped in it, a quick, and firm pull at the other end tightened it. A fugitive running on a horse back could be easily got down from behind by the rope.

For driving and controlling the elephant, an ankus,[44] the gad[45] and the jagawat[46] were the only gadgets. The ankus is made like a large iron hook. The stem is like an arrow; but at the outer end of it there is a hook. Akbar called it gajbaga.[47] The elephants were trained to the goading of this implement. The gad is a spear having two prongs instead of an iron point. The prongs are curved like the stiff neck of a swan. A small peg having depression in the middle is attached horizontally with the spear head. Like the ankus, bhlis pierced the animal with the gad when he becomes refractory. In the folio 248 (Akb, C.B.) a few attendants, laced with the gad, are shown

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43. Tuzuk; f. 285 (B.M.).
44. Ain (Bloch.), Vol. I, No. 27, p. 136.
45. Ibid; No. 28; p. 137.
46. Ibid; No. 30; p. 137.
47. Ain (Bloch.), Vol. I, p. 136 (No.27).

engaged in controlling an elephant. The last gadget is similar to the gad with the difference of prongs. A round peg having depression in the middle, fixed horizontally to a small shaft - makes a jagawat.[48] It is used to make the animal active and to quicken his speed (Ibid; f. 32b).

The Quoit; the chakra.[49]

An ancient Indian weapon associated with Hindu Lord Krishna - is a flat metallic ring having sharp outer-edge like a razor. Sanyasis[50] made a use of it during their fights. It was not a weapon of the Mughal soldier.[51] Abul Fazl has not mentioned it in the list of the weapons.

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48. Ibid; p. 137 (no. 30).

49. Plate LXXXIV, fig. 26.

50. Akb. pls. 61, 62 (V.A.).

51. Ain (Bloch.). Vol. I, pp. 117-119.

(c) THE ENSIGNS OF ROYALITY

From times immemorial kings have used various ensigns symbolising supreme dignity, power and authority and distinguishing personages. Abul Fazl considers the fondness of the kings for external external explendour as a reason for the adoption of such symbols.[1] The insignia that he mentions in the Ain[2] belong to the court of Akbar but seem to have been prepetuated from earlier times. The Muslims added the emblems of sovereignity which included sun, tiger, ibex and a set of standards ending in golden disks, globes, heads of dragon, animal's head, spear head etc. etc. All of these have been depicted in the illustrations.

There are innumerable types of the Mughal emblems. The stylized head of bird with an elongated beak and a curved neck is typical. The geometric designs displaying circles, ellipse and symmetrical figures of the utensils etc. are common. Snake, dragon, and elephant, human head are, but less frequently found. The heads of animals : wild-goats, stags, tiger, horse, sheep and a dragon (symbol of heaven) - employed in the ornamentation of the thrones, boats and arms etc; are not merely decorative and have embelmatic significance. The shades: viz. scarlet, orange, green or purple used in the cloth of standards and flags too, are of embelematic significance.

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1. Ain (Bloch.); Vol. I, p. 52.
2. Ibid.



PLATE LXXXIX

Broadly speaking there were three categories of insignia: the royal insignia, the use of which was the special previlege of the king; the insignia bestowed upon princes or used by them as a matter of course; and the insignia granted to distinguish nobles in recognition of some special services or to symbolise their status. Some of these were used by routines while others were displayed on formal occasions. For all the insignia depicted in the illustrations we have to depend for termonology on what Abul Fazl has listed in the Ain.

The awrang; (LXXXIX & XC).

The awrang or the throne was the first insignia of royality several kinds of these must have been used by the king. It seems that the largest was placed in the main hall or diwan where the king held his court. The others placed in smaller chambers used for special kinds of gatherings. The throne depicted in the camping scenes must have been specially made so as to be easily transported along with the rest of the paraphernalia. In Indian history we come across several such occasion when an intinerant prince was throned away from the capital on receiving the news of the sudden death of the king. On such emergencies humbler thrones must have been errected. Akbar too was confronted with such a situation an earthern throne was built for his first coronation at Kalanaur.[3] In other instance, an earthern

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3. On February 15, 1556.

throne[4] was built for Babur by a river side where he held a court, although he was not confronted with the situation mentioned above.

The thrones depicted in the illustrations are necessarily the representation of those actually used by the emperor. The painters must have drawn the figures from their personal observation of the thrones used by Akbar,[5] or from fancy. However, some characteristics are common to all which, we can safely presume, must have been traditional. The thrones used in the palaces for holding the grand court or for restricted audiance consist of a square pavilion with roof supported by four thin cylinderical columns; the main seat; and generally a payadan[6] or what may be called a stair for stepping up to the sitting place. Besides the Payadan, sometimes a stair[7] was connected for stepping upto the seat, with the thrones supported on high legs. The seat is smaller in size and hexagonal in shape. Seats, square in shape[8] are there but less frequently used. It is closed by a short railing all rounded, leaving some space on the front side for the king to pass.[9] The back seat would be generally 4 to 5 feet high

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4. Tuzuk; f. 459 (B.M.).
5. Ain (Bloch.); Vol. I, plate ix, p. 52.
6. Razm; pls. 20,30(Baroda); pls. 31,37,38,73,79(Jaipore); Tarikh; ff. 5b,40b,89b,90a,1181, 123a,126b,131b,136b,144b,182a,205b, 206b(C.B.); pls. 9,27,50,52,75,79,94,114(V.A.); Diwan; f. 19 (Rampur); Anwar; ff. 5,134,208(Varanasi).
7. Tarikh; ff. 40b, 284a (Patna).
8. Razm; pl. 9(Baroda); pls.27,68(Jaipore); Anwar; ff. 5,205(Varanasi); Tarikh; ff. 62a, 90a,254a(Patna); f. 201(C.B.); pl.23 (V.A.).
9. Razm; 12,37,39,79(Jaipore); Tarikh; ff. 5b,40b,206b,154a,284a (Patna); Akb; f. 147b (C.B.).

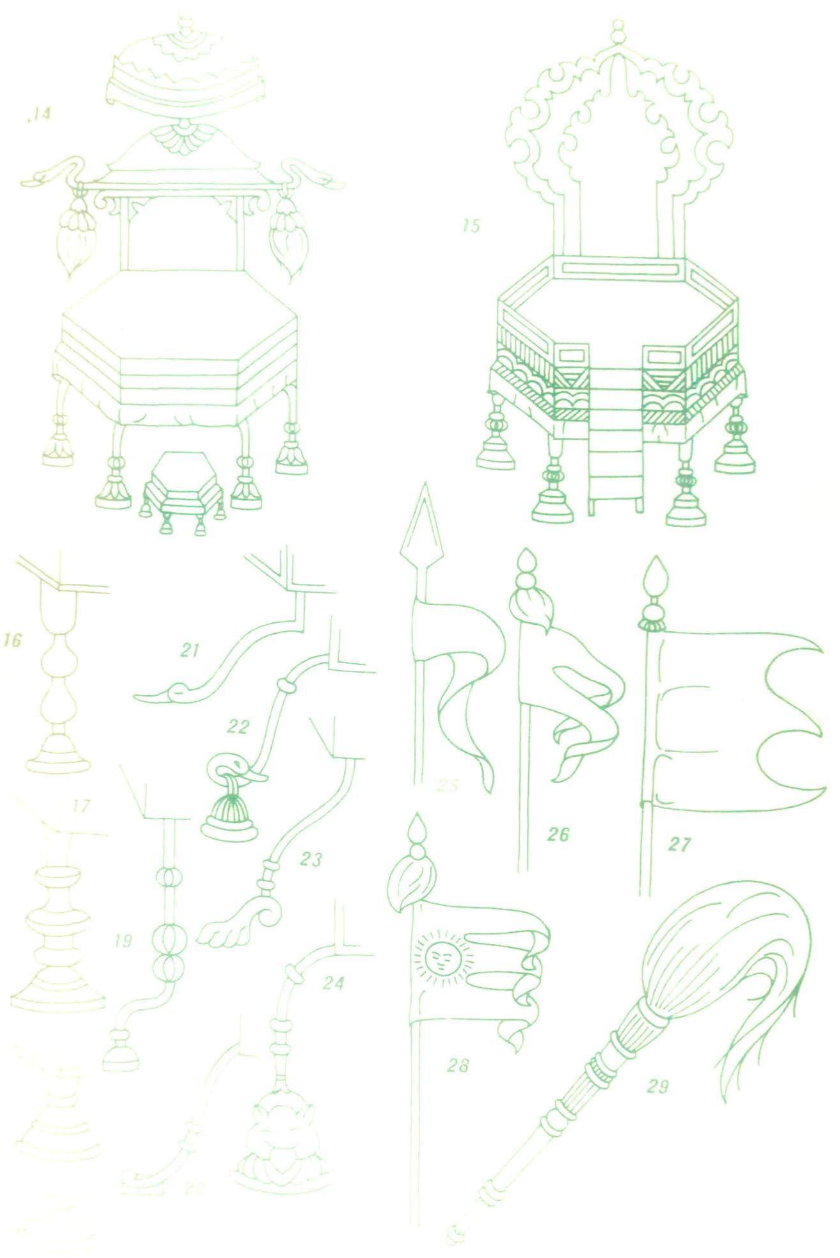


PLATE XC

and in the shape of a beetle leaf. Thrones used outdoors may be square or rectangular and without a pavilion. These would be either open overhead or covered by a shamyiana.

Apart from these common characteristics, the thrones admitted considerable variety in the patterns of embellishment. For instance the edges of the back seat may be foliated or cusped like an arch.[10] On the top it may be mounted a pinnacle of the shape of the flame, or the tall balas, or a bud, or a bird in stylised form; or two to three round spheres with an arrow head (figs. 10-13). Occasionally royal-umbrella (chharta) is connected with the back seat.[11] The legs are generally curved. A royal chair, a thakht - a seat made of planks may have short legs of the common shape composed of two or three spheres of varying sizes.[12] Other have high legs: curved or straight, ending in the animal's head - a cat, a tiger, a duck and sometimes the claw (panja) of a dragon (figs. 21-24).[13] Rarely, we come across of a imperial throne without legs (fig. 7).[14]

The railings can be plain or intended like a parapet. These, as a

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10. Akb. ff. 1,6b(C.B.);pls.9,27,50,75,79,94(V.A.); Diwan; f. 19 (Rampur); Razm; pls.39,79,86(Jaipore); Tarikh; ff. 40b,104a, 118a, 123a,131b,136b,144b,182a,205b,206b,284a,328b(Patna).

11. Razm; pl. 20(Baroda); pls. 12,37,39,65(Jaipore);Tarikh; ff. 136b, 284a(Patna).

12. Akb; f. 201b(C.B.); Razm; pls. 6,26(Baroda); pls.27,68,116 (Jaipore); Tarikh; ff. 90a, 148a, 254a (Patna).

13. Akb; f. 49b;(C.B.); pls. 9,27,50,75,79(V.A.);Diwan; f. 19 (Rampur); Razm; pl.86 (Jaipore); Tarikh; ff.89b, 118a,123b,126b, 182a,205b,206b,328b (Patna).

14. Anwar; f. 5 (Varanasi).

matter of principle are not employed. Railings are frequently omitted in the embellishment of a throne. Imperial thrones used in the courts, furnished with a chhatra, lock of yak-tails on either sides of the back seat and ornamented, high legs; have no railings.[15]

The payadans are smaller in size, commonly rectangular in shape provided with short legs. Its top is covered with cushions and ornamented with floral patterns.

The external decoration was provided by profuse engravings and an abundance of precious stones, gold and silver chips all studded in beautiful patterns reminiscent of the costly Iranian carpets and of minute floral patterns of brocade of the medieval times. The seat was covered with thick cushions probably of welvet but profusely decorated by gold-thread work. The long round pillow (the gaw-takya of today) which too is done in eleborate decorative gold-thread work makes the rest for the back of the king.

The king is generally shown sitting on a throne with his forelegs folded underneath him. He is fully dressed and never without a crown. He is invariably attended by his nobles standing in two rows before him and by his personal attendants bearing the royal insignias-

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15. Akb; f. 147 (C.B.); pl. 50 (V.A.); Diwan; f. 19 (Rampur); Razm; pl. 20(Baroda); pl. 73 (Jaipore).



PLATE XCI

casually the chhatra[16] but commonly the chanwar and alms.[17] In all his paintings he is depicted engaged in state business, for instance meeting a prince-governor, examining the heads of enemies, issuing instructions or inspecting botty.

The thrones shown in the illustrations are conspicuous by two peculiarities. They are certainly not as ostentatious as more might except or the like of which are observed in the time of Shahjahan. Secondly they are of a size just enough for the king to sit comforably. Auxiliary decorations are almost absent. Whatever embellishment is seen belongs to what are the essential parts that go to make a masnad.

The Chhatra; (plate XCI figs. 1-9).

The chhatra or the royal umbrella was second in importance only to the throne. It has in fact been a universal ensign of royality. The monarchs of ancient India and the kings were called as Chhatrapati: One, to whom behoves a chhatra. Among the Muslims the practice of using the chhatra was quite old. In the christian world and among the Chinese too, the umbrella has been a symbol of the royality. It seems to originate in the conception that a king is the representative of God on earth and the Chhatra was the symbol of devine

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16. Razm; pl. 73(Jaipore); Tarikh; f. 136b (Patna).

17. Akb; f. 1,6b,49b,147b(C.B.); pls. 9,27,50,75,94,114(V.A.); Razm; pl.9,20,30 (Baroda); pls. 39,73,79(Jaipore); Tarikh; ff. 5b,40b, 89b,90a,118a,123a,126b,131b,136b,144b,182a,205b,206b,284a,328b (Patna); Diwan; f. 19 (Rampur); Anwar; ff.5, 134, 208(Varanasi).

blessings, the expression of God's protective shadow on his head.

The prop of the chhatra is usually very long. It could be fixed to a throne or carried by an attendant close to the person of the king outside the palace or in a battle field.[18] In the latter situation it served the purpose of providing the king with a covering against the sunlight. Its practical importance lay in its being visible to everyone from far and near, ensuring the presence of the king.

The chhatra depicted in the illsutrations are all of the same form, with slight variations in the shapes of their domes and in decorative patterns.[19] It is like a broad based, small dome with a pinnacle. The base is girdled by a broad band and ornamented with the costliest jewels.[20] A plait of cloth hangs loosely at the helm. The figure shown in the plate XCI; fig. 7 is characteristically similar from the one found in the Ain.[21] The chhatra of Akbar is for more profusely decorated with jems and previous metals all over, but is of a simple

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18. Akb; pls. 63,65(V.A.); Razm; 6,42,83,96,126 (attached to the chariot); Jaipore; Anwar; f. 32 (Varanasi); Tarikh; ff. 54a, 55b,57b,59b,67b,108b,147b,154b,170b,226a,227b,230a,253a,337b (Patna).

19. Akb; pl. 63,65(V.A.); Razm; pls. 6,37,39,73,83,96(Jaipore); Tarikh; ff. 48b,54a,55b,59b(Patna). Plate XCI; figs. 1-9.

20. "The chatr, or umbrella, is adorned with the most precious jewels, of which there are never less than seven". Ain(Bloch.); Vol. I, p. 52.

21. Ibid; plate IX, fig. 5.

shape. It has an circular rim with or without any appendage. The top surface is oval or circular or domed.

The Sayaban; (ibid; figs. 10-15).

The sayaban was also intended to provide shade and hence was also called Aftabgir. It had a long pole, ten to twelve feet in size. On the top of it was mounted a large fan, about a yard in length and of the shape of a big leaf.[22] The shape of the fan has varied. It may be egg-shaped, spherical or conical. It was bedecked with a number of jewels.[23] An special attendant carried it with the emperor.

The Kawkaba; (ibid; figs. 16-20).

The Kawkaba is a decorative form of the Kawkab an Arabic word meaning a star. Abul Fazl does not give a sufficient description of this ensign but states simply that it was used to be placed outside the assembly hall.[24] The lexicographers describe it as a polished ball probably of metal[25] intended to announce the presence of the king at state business. The illustrations have atleast three of its representation.[26] It is an spherical object suspended to a metallic hanger

22. "The Sāyabān is of an oval form, a yard in length, and its handle, like that of the umbrella, is covered with brocade and ornamented with precious stones". Ibid; Akb;ff. 1,19,22,88(C.B.); pls. 14,15,21a,33,41,61,77,81,83,85,97,99,110,133(V.A.);Tarikh; 12a, 26b,32a,48b,322a,323a(Patna).

23. Ibid, p. 52.

24. "The Kawkaba, of which several are hung up before the assembly hall". Ibid.

25. Steingass, p. 1063.

26. Plate XCI; figs. 16-18.

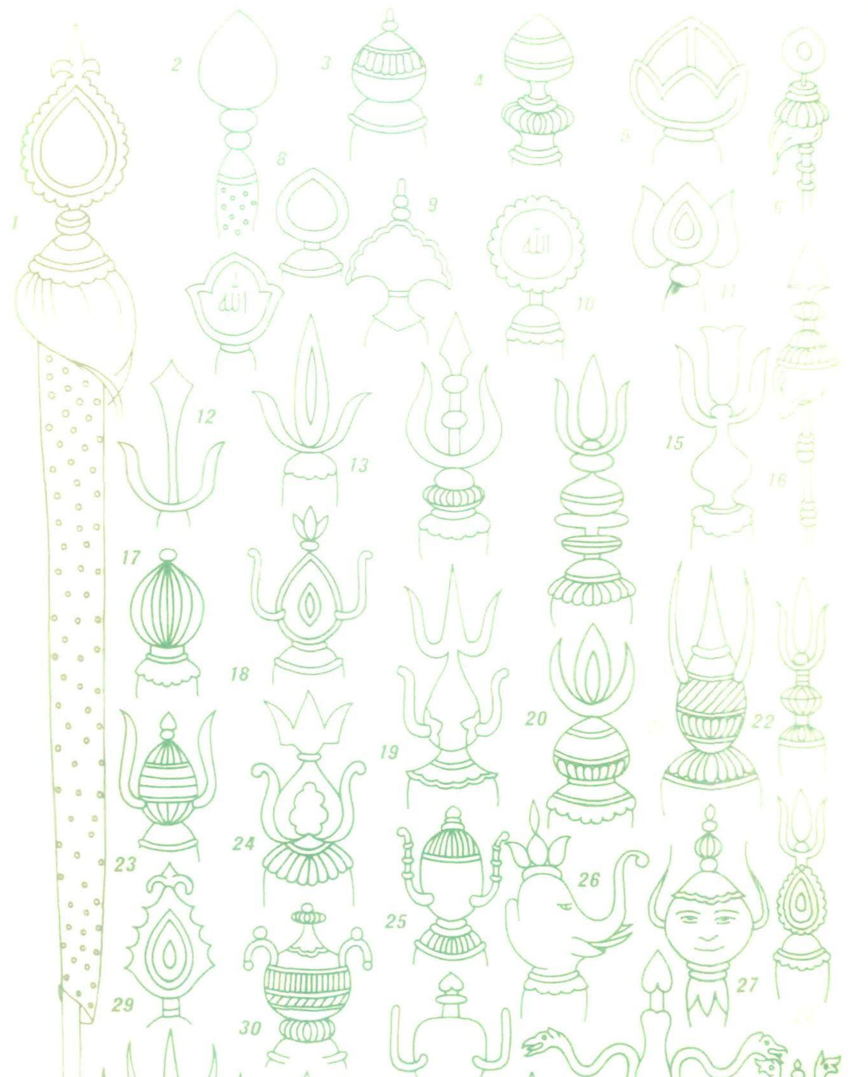


PLATE XCII

with a curved stem ending in the motif of the head of a dragon: a bird or a snake. There were stems meant to be fixed on the ground like a long lamp-post[27] and there were other kinds, shorter ones permanently fixed the wall like a long peg.[28] From the neck of the dragon this ball was hung. In one of the illustrations it appears like a solid ball with an inner core or a circle.[29] In another it hangs just like a globe.[30] In the third one it resembles a lotus bud with distinct markings of the petals.[31] The question why it was called a Kawkaba is inexplicable in the light of these illustrations and of the description available in the Ain. It seems that it shone along with other ensigns of royality on a battle field.

The Kawkaba, the sayaban, the chhatra and the throne were the ensigns which only the king had the previlege to use.[32] Abul Fazl report on these seems to imply that the other insignia such as the alams, chatratoq , tumantoq and the flag could be bestowed on the princes and nobles.

The alam; (plate XCII).

The alam is an Arabic word for standard which may be of any kind, a

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27. Tarikh; f. 46b(Patna); Akb; pl. 65 (V.A.).
28. Tuzuk; f. 294 (B.M.).
29. Tuzuk; f. 306 (B.M.).
30. Akb; pl. 65(V.A.); Tarikh; f. 46b (Patna); Tuzuk; ff. 94, 273 (B.M.).
31. Tuzuk; f. 294 (B.M.).
32. Ain (Bloch); Vol. I, p. 52.

flag or any other similar ensign. The alams of the Mughals are peculiar in their form though they vary from king to king. The alams are displayed on occasions of festivity or war[33] and seldom less than five at a time.[34] Special persons are assigned the responsibility of carrying them

With slight variations in the heads, the Akbari alams are all the same. Akbar, fond as was of innovation got his alams made in varying designs and sizes and called them by different names too.[35] A chatratoq is smaller than others. It has a round wavy crest for the head and four bunches of Yak-tails instead of one. The tumantoq lacks the tail but is otherwise similar. What is properly called alam has a tall head resembling a flask with a long cylinderical neck and a trifoliated crest on the top of it.

The alams displayed in the illustrations are generally flat in two dimentons with the suggestion of plastic relief. The distinctions made by Abul Fazl in the Ain, are not strictly followed by the painters. Alams depicted, are similar in their decore and embellishment with the variations of their heads.[36] A thick lock of the Yak-tail

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33. Razm; pls. 46,61,63,65,72,90,95,96(Jaipore); Tarikh; ff. 18b, 23b,24b,26b,44b,46b,63b,67b,73b,99a,149b,170b,194b,202a,226a, 227b,230a(Patna);Diwan;f. 355(Rampur);Anwar;f.32 (Varanasi); Akb; ff. 19,123,187b,226b(C.B.);pls.10,12,15,17,25,35,36,42,61, 63,65,77,99,100,103,108,109,110,116(V.A.).
34. "When the king rides out, no less than five of these are carried along with the qūr, wrapped up in scarlet cloth bags". Ain (Bloch.); Vol. I, p. 52.
35. Ibid.
36. Plate XCII; Razm; pls. 72,86,96,112,115,127(Jaipore); Tarikh; ff. 18b,23b,24b,26b,44b,63b,73b (Patna); Akb; pls. 12,15,17 (V.A.).

may or may not be attached, below the emblem. Costly cloth of varying shades: green, purple, orange, red and blue etc; embellished with floral motifs is wrapped around the poles.[37] A few are without cloth.

The emblems are designed in the traditional form of floral motifs, stylised human or animal heads, or a dragon or forms of utensils similar to the minas-provided with two spouts. The conical, round or oval-shaped heads with foliated edges may be mounted with trifoliated crest on the top of it. A pinnacle or spear head with one or three prongs may be employed as an emblem or attached at the top of other floral motifs of the head. Symmetry, as a matter of rule is followed in their forms.

The head of an elephant[38] embellished with a crown (symbol of Ganesh - the Hindu god) seems the emblem of ancient India, being adopted by the Mughals (fig. 26).[39] The emblem designed with the heads of dragon (symbol of heaven) shows[40] its affinity with Chinese tradition (figs. 34, 35). The human face, probably the sun, employed as an emblem is a Persian tradition (fig. 27). Occasionally, an inscription of 'Allah' appears on the flat surface of the alam's[41] head identical to the Islamic-World (figs. 7,10).

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37. Akb; f.18(C.B.); pls. 21,31,77(V.A.); Razm; pls. 63,72,117,126 (Jaipore).
38. Tarikh; f. 67b (Patna).
39. Tarikh; f. 48b (Patna).
40. Akb; f. 226b (C.B.).
41. Akb; f. 187b (C.B.); pl. 12(V.A.); Tarikh; ff. 24b, 48b, 238a (Patna).

The flag; (plate XC figs. 25-28).

Akbar's flag is very simple. Generally, it is made of long, triangular cloth but is not very broad. Flags made of broad cloth are trifurcated and short in length. As a matter of course, no emblem appears on them.[42] The emblem of a shining sun rarely comes to our view (fig. 28). It is similar to that displayed in the plate IX, fig. 1 (Ain, Bloch.).[43] Abul Fazl has mentioned that the Shamsas - pictures of the sun affixed on the gates or on the walls of the palaces, were illuminated in the night. The stem of the flags ended in a spear head from which occasionally hung tuffs of Yak-tail.

The chanwar; or camari; or cauri;[44] (plate XC fig. 29).

A typically oriental sign of dignity shone in the illustrations is the chanwar, literary the fly-whisk. Its handle is generally well decorated and the fluff of the hair very thick. The attendant carrying the chanwar stood close to the king and waved it in gentle movements about the king's head. It was frequently used in and outside the court.[45]

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42. Akb; f. 188 (C.B.).
43. Ain (Bloch.); Vol. I, p. 52.
44. Encyclopedia of World Art; Vol. IV, p. 720.
45. Razm; pls. 6,9,10,20,26,28,30(Baroda); pls. 12,37,73,86(Jaipore); Akb; ff. 1,4b,49b,54,157b,268b(C.B.).

(d) MUSICAL - INSTRUMENTS

Music has been a necessary accompaniment of court life. It has been one of the chief sources of entertainment for the royality as well as a source of inspiration in the battles. The Mughal court has been famous for the uplift of Musical art in India and kings have been patrons of some of the greatest Indian musicians. Both vocal and instrumental music was cultivated under the patronage of Akbar. The emperor paid his attention to music and patronised the musicians.[1] Abul Fazl has given thirty-six names of the principal musicians in the *Ain*.[2] No doubt, there would have been a greater number of them. Among the musicians there are both the men and women, who belonged to different origins: Hindus; Iranis; Turanis; and Kashmiris. On the order of the emperor musicians played their instruments daily. Their, seven divisions were made to facilitate the work. These divisions performed alternately, once a week.[3] *Dhurpad*, reached to its zenith at the court of Akbar when Tansen sang it.[4] Instruments

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1. *Ain* (Bloch.); Vol. I, p. 681.
2. *Ibid*; (Miyan Tansen; Baba Ramdas; Subhan Khan; Srigyan Khan; Bir Mandal Khan; Baz Bahadur; Miyan Chand; Bichitra Khan, Muhammad Khan; Shihabkhan; Daud Dhari; Sarod Khan, Miyan Lal, Tantarang Khan s/o Miyan Tansen; Mulla Ishaq Dhari; Usta Dost; Nank Jarju; Purbin Kumar; Surdas s/o Baba Ramdas; Chand Khan; Rangsen; Shaykh Dawan Dhari; Rahmat-ullah s/o Mulla Ishaq; Mir Sayyid Ali of Mashhad; Usta Yusuf; Qasim Kohbar; Tash Beg; Sultan Hafiz Hashim; Usta Shah Muhammad; Usta Muhammad Amin; Hafiz Khawaja Ali; Pirzada and Usta Muhammad Husyan.7; pp. 681-682.
3. *Ibid*; p. 681.
4. *Arts and Crafts of India & Pakistan*; pp. 11-12.

too, found an important place. Abul Fazl has described a variety of these instruments,[5] a few of which were the innovations of the musicians of the Mughal court. Qasim Kohbar invented an instrument[6] intermediary the <u>Qubuz</u> and the <u>rubab</u>.

A scene depicting wholly a musical function is wanting in the collection of the Akbari-illustrations. It is only in the connection of a feast or a festival that musicians appear giving their performance. Their representation is linked to a number of rites and ceremonies. For that reason only a few of the musical-instruments used in those days come to our view.[7] Musical tradition of Akbar's court display strong affiliation with the Persian music. The instruments are the same as were common in Iran, and the names of which we come across so frequently in the odes of Hafiz, Jami and Firdausi. The <u>rubab</u> is the most prominent of them. Then comes the <u>ney</u> or the flute and the <u>nafir</u>, the portotype of modern <u>nafiri</u>. Among the percussion instruments there are the <u>duhul</u> (Indianised as dhol); the <u>chang</u> and <u>daf</u>. Included among them are the <u>damama</u>, which is the largest drum used for announcing the commencement of war, the <u>naqqara</u> or the small kettle-drum, the <u>qarna</u> and <u>surna</u>. Besides these other instruments are displayed as an accompaniment of dance. The <u>ghungru</u>, <u>sanj</u>

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5. <u>Ain</u> (Bloch.) Vol.I,pp.52-53; (<u>Naqqara</u>; <u>Damama</u>; <u>Duhul</u>, <u>Surna</u>; <u>Qarna</u>; <u>seeng</u>; <u>Nafir</u> and <u>Sanj</u>); pp. 681-682;(Sarmandal; <u>Bin</u>; <u>Nay</u>; <u>Ghichak</u>; <u>Tambura</u>; <u>Qubuz</u>; <u>Rubab</u> and <u>Qanun</u>).

6. "Qāsim, surnamed Koh-bar. He has invented an instrument intermediate between the <u>Qūbūz</u> and the <u>Rubāb</u>". p. 682.

7. Plates XCIII - XCVIII.



PLATE XCIII

(jalra), tala (manjira); mirdanga, veena, tambura and dundubhi are typically Indian and seem to have won their way into the Muslim court long before the advent of Mughals, by virtue of their intensely rhythmic quality. Veena, flute and mirdanga etc. played on by god and goddesses can be seen in the fresco-paintings of Ajanta.[8] These instruments are still in use in their purest form.

(a) Idiophones :

Cymbals :

1. The Sanj; (plate xciii; fig. 1).

This is similar to what is called in Hindi as Jhanjh. It consists of two separate pieces of plates about 10 inches in diameter. In the middle of each plate and leaving a broad margin there are cup shaped depressions. In the centres of these cups are holes from which run out two small pieces of string knotted on either sides. Each of the plates is held in either hands by the strings. The concave sides of the plates are the inner surfaces which are struck together.[9] The jingling sound becomes louder because of the viabration produced in the helms of the plates. The cups act as resonents for the sound. The rhythm of the sanj is very simple as this instrument is not so

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8. Cave xvii, Ajanta, Arts and Crafts of India & Pakistan; Plates xiii, xxxv.

9. Akb; ff. 19,157b, 187b(C.B.); Razm; pls. 43,53,72,83,87,88,89,108, 110,127,145(Jaipore); Tarikh; ff.40b,54a,57b,136b,202a,226a,227b, 230a,238a,254a (Patna).

comfortable to wield as the manjeera or the tala. In effect the sanj resembles the cymbal now used in western Orchestra occasionally pentuating musical phrases.

2. The tala; or the manjeera; (ibid; figs. 2, 3).

It consisted a pair of two separate cup shaped pots. In the centres of these cups run out on small piece of string knotted on either ends. The depth of the cup has varied. Its another form could be like a saucer with cup shaped depression in the middle. It is an instrument of indefinite pitch and is played by striking the edges of these vessels or rubbing the flat margins of the saucers.[10] The tala is not new to the students of Indian music and dance. It was common accompaniment of bhajans in the temples. It marked the rhythm of the both: dance or vocal recital.

Bells :

1. Gong; (ibid; fig. 7).

Like the tala this instrument too, won its way in the music of bhajans and various ceremonies. It is always played in the accompaniment of other musical instruments such as tala, mirdanga and dhol etc. etc. It is a flat, round, metallic disk provided with a loop at the top in the middle through which a string is passed to hold it. The sound is produced by striking it with a wooden-stick.[11]

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10. Akb; pl. 79 (V.A.); Razm; pl. 127 (Jaipore).

11. Razm; pls. 72, 121 (Jaipore).

2. <u>The ghungru</u>; (plate XCIII; <u>Tarikh</u>, f. 40b Patna).

Ghungru is an essential accompaniment of Indian dancer. Several hollow balls of brass with small metallic grains inside them are strung together into two or three rows on a leather or cotton flap on a length enough to cover the ankle make up the <u>ghungru</u>. The balls are each called a <u>ghungru</u> after which the whole instrument is known. The <u>ghungru</u> is tied by a hook or flap or by strings just above the ankles (<u>Akb</u>; f. 143 (C.B.). There is always a pair of them worn in each leg. During the dance the <u>ghungrus</u> produce a jungling sound at each step or movement of the foot. The sound is dull so that it is not sustained longer like the sound of a bell. So that every individual beat is distinctly heard and marked. It has a very pleasing effect. In the latter medieval period the use of the <u>ghungru</u> became a difficult art with the growth and development of <u>Kathak</u> style of dancing. Intricate patterns are weaved by the feet which produce equally intricate rhythmic <u>ghungru</u> sounds.[12] Metallic-bells of varying sizes in different shapes; hemi-spherical, cup-shaped, and round, are employed in the ornamentation to decorate the harness of elephants and camels etc.[13] Round bells are tucked in a row on a long, narrow strip of cloth or leather, fastened round the neck of the animal.

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12. Plate XCIII; figs. 4, 5.

13. <u>Tarikh</u>; ff. 24a, 65b, 104a, 110b, 132a, 143b, 147, 170b, 248a, 269a (Patna); <u>Razm</u>; pls. 7, 29, 32 (Baroda); pls. 39, 46, 53, 54, 58, 72, 90, 96, 100, 102, 103, 104, 106, 115(Jaipore).

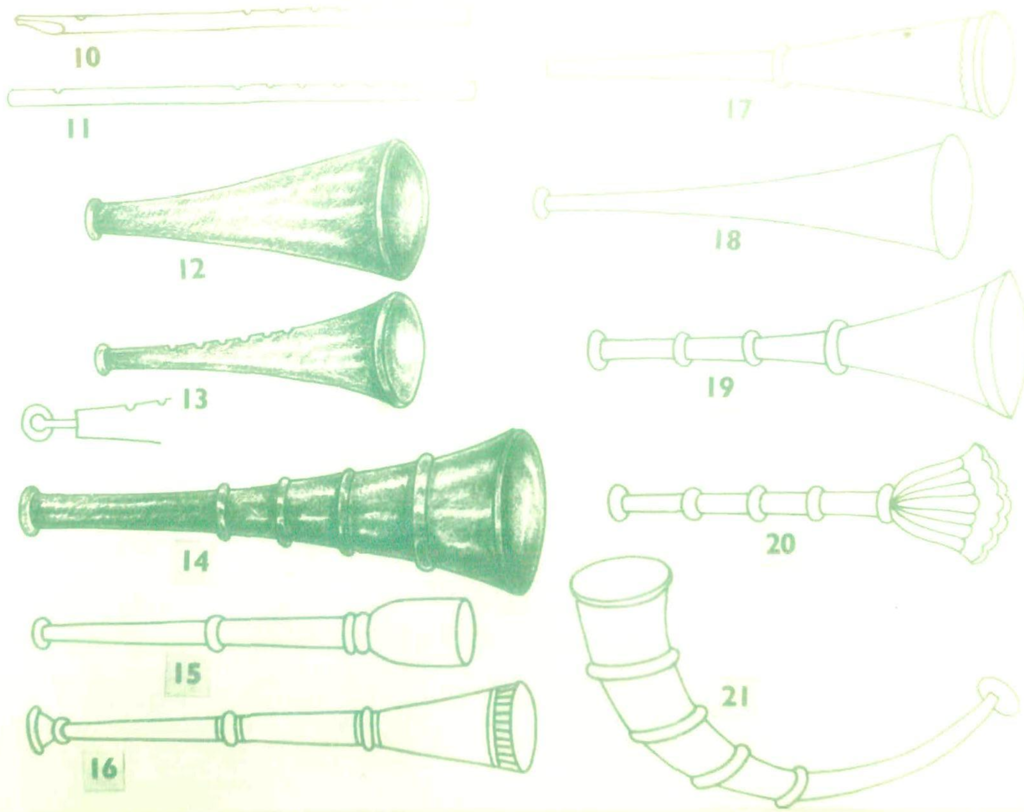


PLATE XCIV

Wood-blocks :

1. Castanets; (Ibid; fig. 8).

It is a musical instrument of indefinite pitch, consisting of two shell shaped pieces of hard wood about as long as the palm.[14] These are rattled between the thumb and fingers of the dancer's hand, who could have one or two sets in both palms at a time. The inner flat surfaces of these two pieces are struck together marking the rhythm of the dance and vocal recital. Both male and female dancers played them.

(b) Aerophones :

Flute like instruments :

(1) Surnai-Hindi (a vertical-flute); (2) Ban-Suri (a cross-flute); (plate XCIV; fig. 10, 11).

The word Surnai-Hindi is given by Abul Fazl[15] to the flute. Indian musicians differentiate between the bansuri and the alghoza.[16] The former has six holes of musical notes and another hole at a certain distance, nearer the upper end which is closed by a stopper shoved into it. This is held side ways and is blown at the hole nearer the end. The alghoza[17] is held in the front instead of a hole it has a pen's-nib like

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14. Akb; pls. 8, 79 (V.A.); f. 143b(C.B.); Tarikh; ff. 4b,40b,72a, 205a, 284a (Patna); Razm; pl. 121 (Jaipore).
15. Ain (Bloch.); Vol. I, plate viii, fig. 7.
16. Razm; pl. 134 (Jaipore).
17. Akb; pl. 79(V.A.); f. 143b (C.B.); Tarikh; ff. 4b, 90a(Patna); Razm; pl. 12 (Jaipore).

projection with a narrow apperture. The mouth of the alghoza is held between the lips. The breath blown through the apperture passes through an almost square hole at a little distance and produces the sound. The length of this instrument has varied. Alghoza could be one span long.[18]

Musical patterns are contrived by the co-ordination of the breath with the movements of fingers (the three middle fingers of each hand-those of the right hand being below those of the left). The hole near the lower end is the lowest note and is followed upwards by the next in succession to the sixth note. A particular note becomes alive with the raising of the finger from the corresponding hole. While the fingers on the upper holes remain closed. A seventh note is produced by closing all the holes. The instrument in fact has two octaves. The upper octave is manipulated in the same manner as the lower one but here the strength of the breath is doubled.

The flute has an extremely amourous sound. Its association with the Hindu god Krishna and its simplicity accounts for its popularity. among the Indian people.

Lip blown instruments :

(1) The Surna and (2) the nafir; (ibid; figs. 12,13).

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18. Cyclopedia of India; Vol. III, p. 441.

Abul Fazl[19] has mentioned the surna and the nafir as two separate instruments.[20] The picture of these instruments given in the illustrations[21] help us to differentiate between the surna and the nafir. The former has small holes on the stem and is played like the flute. The nafiri of the modern time seems to have retained its form from the nafir. These are long tapering instruments, a pipe opening in the form of a funnel. From Abul Fazl description however it appears that surna was more popular in the court as a part of the whole royal band than the nafir.[22] He mentions that in the naqqarkhana nine surnas were played at one time.[23] The surna and nafir both accompanied the naqqarkhana. However, the latter seems associated, mostly with the instruments performed at festivities etc.

Abul Fazl[24] also distinguishes the Hindi-surna from the Persian surna. This evidently refers to the distinction between the Persian surna and the bansuri or the alghoza. Three kinds of nafir are mentioned, Indian, Persian and European.[25] We have a few paintings depicting this instrument. Abul Fazl does not clarify the distinction, and it is difficult to guess their relative differences and merits.

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19. Ain (Bloch.); Vol. I, p. 53, line 4-6.
20. Plate XCIV; figs. 12, 13.
21. Akb; pls. 8,79(V.A.); ff. 19,143b(C.B.); Razm; pls. 83,87,89,108, 110,119,145(Jaipore); Tarikh;ff. 20a,24b,67b,136b,205a,253a,254a, 284a(Patna).
22. Ain, (Bloch.); Vol. I, pp.53-54.
23. Ibid; p. 53, line 3-4.
24. Ibid; plate VII, fig. 6,7.
25. Ibid; p. 53, line 5.

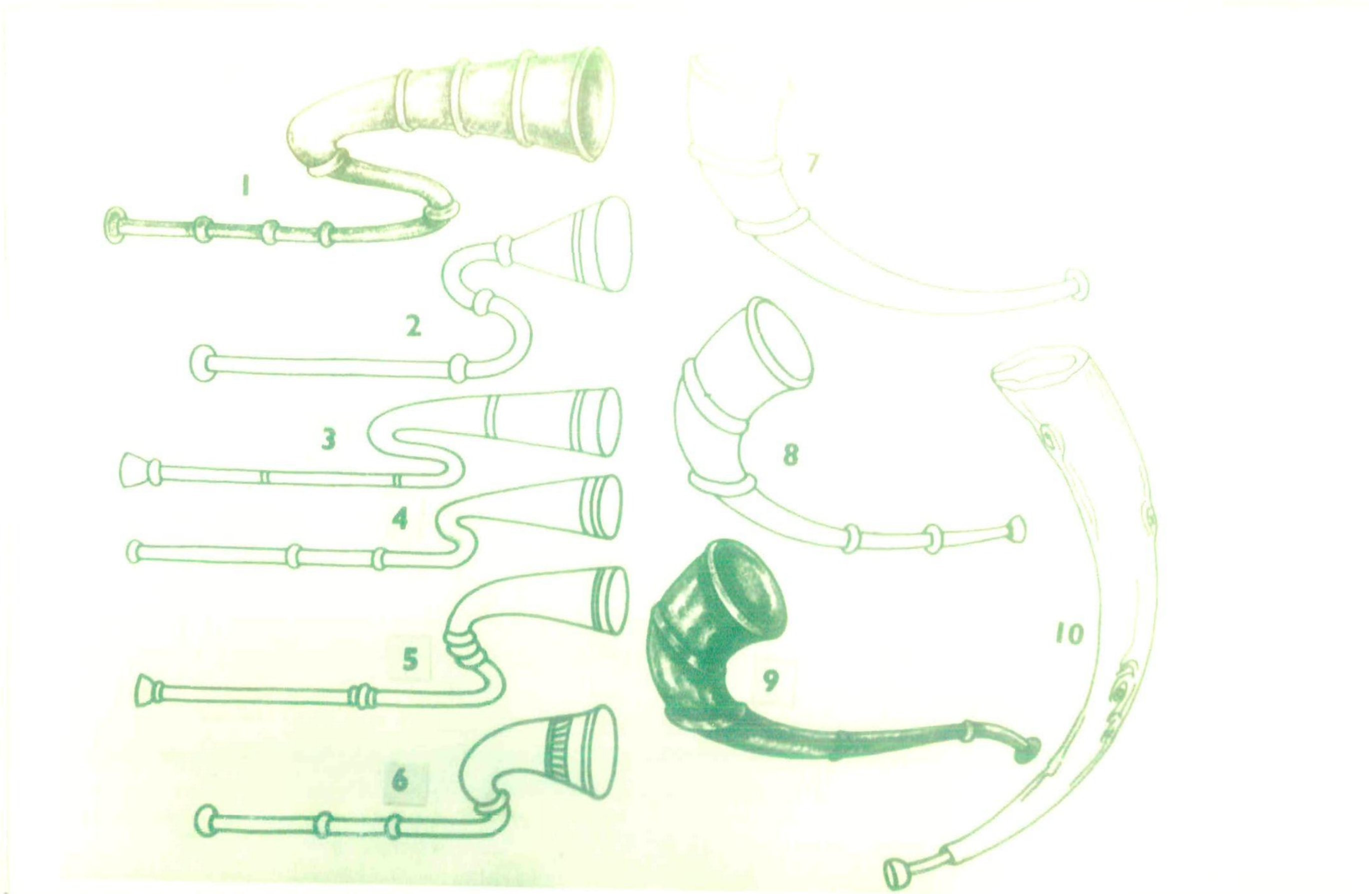


PLATE XCV

3. The Qarna; (plate XCIV and XCV).

The Qarna is the longest of the pipes. It could be twelve feet long.[26] It is of three types - straight, curved like the one third arch of a large circle and doubly curved like an S with elongated arms.[27] Qarna is a typical battle-field instrument. There are no holes on it and is played like a bugle. The lower end is a thin pipe with a small cup-shaped opening to fit the lips. The upper arm is an elongated funnel. According to the Ain[28] the Qarna was made either of brass, or silver, or even gold.

4. The seeng ; (plate XCV; figs. 7-9).

It is also used on the battle-fields.[29] It was made of brass and acquired its name from the its shape which resembles the smoothly curved horn of a cow.[30] In fact it seems that the original Indian instrument of which the seeng is a refined copy must have been made out of the very horn of the cow. The kind of which may still be observed in the villages specially on the hills. The seeng also does not have any holes in it.

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26. Cyclopedia of India, Vol. III, p. 441.
27. Akb; ff. 143b,157b,187b(C.B.); pls.8,79(V.A.); Razm; pls.43,50,53, 69,72,83,87,89,110,117,121,127(Jaipore);Tarikh; ff. 15a,23b,40b, 48b,54a,57b,65b,67b,170b,178b,196b,202a,226a,230a,238a,253a,254a, 254a,323a(Patna).
28. "The Karnā is made of gold, silver, brass and other metals, and other metals, and they blow fewer than four". Ain (Bloch.); Vol.I, p. 53, line 2-4.
29. Plate X XCV; figs. 7-9; Razm; pls. 72,88,89 (Jaipore).
30. "The Sing is of brass and made in the form of a cow's horn, they blow two together". Ain (Bloch.); Vol.I, p. 53, line 6-7.

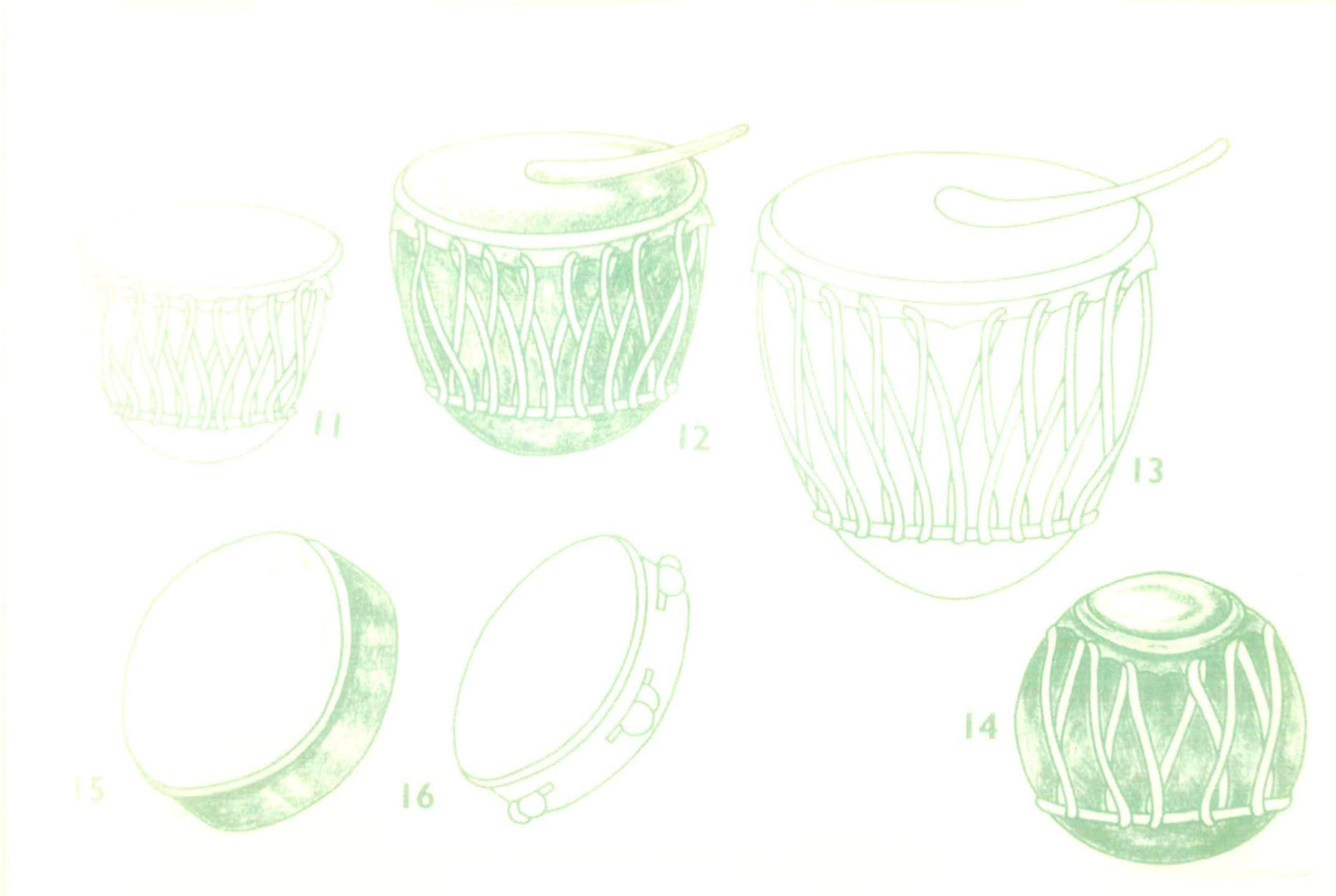


PLATE XCVI

A primitive form of the seeng comprising of a hollow, long wood piece[31] curved like a horn is rarely represented in the Razmnama manuscript of Baroda. The lower end of this instrument is a thin pipe with a small cup-shaped opening to fit the lips. It is played like a bugle.

(c) Membranophones :

Kettle drums

(1) Naqqara; (plate XCVI, figs. 11,12,14).

The naqqara is a one surface drum and larger in size about one and a half feet to one and three quarters of a feet. It drum is like a big bowl almost round or rather half ellipse. In latter times we come across of naqqaras of bigger sizes also. But the naqqara used in musical performances do not seem to have been larger. These are played singly or doubly by one person.[32] It was always beaten with sticks. These could also be ladden on horse backs or on camels and carried to hunting grounds where it seemed to drive animals into traps.[33]

(2) The damama (ibid; fig. 13).

The largest drum was called damama. It varied from the naqqara only in size. It could be as high as five feet and correspondingly bread

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31. Razm; pl. 30 (Baroda).

32. Anwar; f. 190(Varanasi); Akb; pl. 79(V.A.);ff. 10b,19,143b(C.B.); Razm; pls. 43,53,54,60,82,90,110,117,126,144,145(Jaipore); Tarikh; ff. 15a,23b,24b,26b,40b,44b,46,48b,54a,57b,63b,65b,67b, 104a,108b,110b,136b,147b,154b,170b,178b,193a,194b,196b,202a, 205b,254a,284a(Patna).

33. Tuzuk, f. 284 (B.M.).

at the surface. It was beaten by one man only with two large, thick sticks.[34] The _damama_ could hardly be called the instrument of rhythm although rhythm there was possible. Nevertheless its function arose from its audobility during battles or from distances. For that reason it was an indispensible part of camppara-phernalia. It seems that the _damama_ was also used regularly for announcing certain fixed hours as well as some important routines of the king.

Frame drums :

(1) The _daf_; (a tamborine); (_ibid_; fig. 15).

Daf is a one side drum, made like a sieve one side of which is covered with skin. The performer holds it by the wooden frame and beats with the fingers of the other hand.[35]

(2) The _Chang_ : (_ibid_; fig. 16).

This instrument resembles the Arabian[36] _daf_ in shape but has in addition small, round metallic disks hung around its circumference. These disks tinkle with the movements of fingers and the hand provide rhythm to the dance. The dancer herself or a companion holds it by the wooden frame and beats with the fingers of the other hand,[37]

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34. Plate XCVI; figs. 11,12,14; _Akb_; f. 187b (C.B.).
35. _Tarikh_; ff. 20a, 254, 284a.
36. Steingass; p. 528.
37. _Akb_; ff. 54,147b(C.B.); pls. 8,79(V.A.); _Anwar_; ff. 5, 208 (Varanasi); _Diwan_; ff. 30,116,247(Rampur); _Tarikh_; 4b,40b, 72a, 90a, 132a, 205a (Patna).

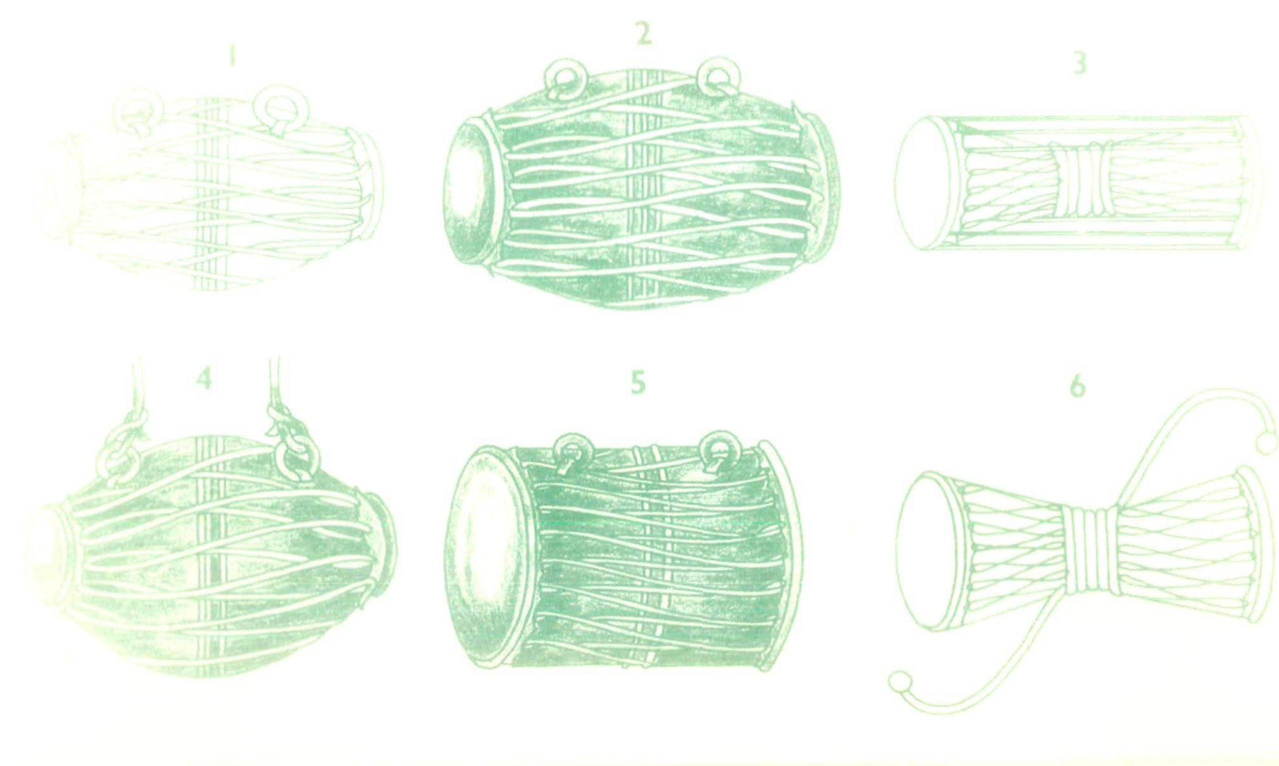


PLATE XCVII

occasionally shaking the instrument briskly to the rhythm of the dance. The Chang was the popular accompaniment of folk music and dance in Iran and still continues to hold its place.

Tublar drums :

(1) The duhul; (plate XCVII; fig. 5).

The duhul[38] is very much like the dholak of our days. A nearly elliptical drum is covered on either sides with skin, with edges swen with gut or leather lace interwoven in the form of a rope and tied like a loop about the ends of the drum. Through these loops runs a long string or rope connecting the skins on either sides by alternate loops. When these loops are pulled the leather loop lace slide upwards more tightly about the tapering surface of the drum and the skin being stretched simultaneously become more tense. When the instrument is not used the strings are loosened in the order to preserve the skin from wear and tear on account of continous tension. The duhul is played upon with two sticks in either hands or by fingers alone.

A dhol,[39] very similar to the dholak of modern time is represented in the manuscript of Rajmnama (Jaipore). It is played in the accompaniment of other musical instruments to mark the rhythm of a dance or vocal recital. The dhol is played upon with two sticks in either hands.

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38. Anwar; f. 190 (Varanasi); Akb; pl. 8 (V.A.); f. 143b (C.B.); Tarikh; f. 70b (Patna).

39. Razm; pl. 72 (Jaipore).

(2) Mirdanga; (ibid; figs. 1,4).

It is the most ancient percussion instrument. It is said to have been created by Brahama to serve as an accompaniment of the dance of Shiva.

Mirdanga[40] is a shallow bass drum made on the same principle as the duhul and is played upon with both hands at either ends. It is an accompaniment of the Kunchee-ka-tefa. Two of its forms are represented in the miniatures.[41]

(3) Dundubhi ; (Hourglass drum); (ibid; fig. 3).

The dundubhi, a musical instrument of indefinite pitch, is played upon with palm and fingers in the accompaniment of other instruments during the festivities.[42] It consisted two small bowls-nearly hemispherical in shape, joined at their bottom, facing opposite to one an other. Both the parchment heads are made on the same principle as the duhul or mirdanga etc.

(4) The damru[43]; or budbudika[44]; (ibid; fig.6).

It is smaller in size than the dundubhi and is made on the same principle as the latter. It is an old instrument and is associated

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40. Razm; pls. 89,121,127(Jaipore).
41. Plate XCVII; figs. 1,4; Razm; pl. 12 (Jaipore).
42. Akb; pl. 79 (V.A.).
43. Razm; pl. 41 (Jaipore); Plate XCVII; fig. 6.
44. Arts and Crafts of India and Pakistan; plate XLIV.

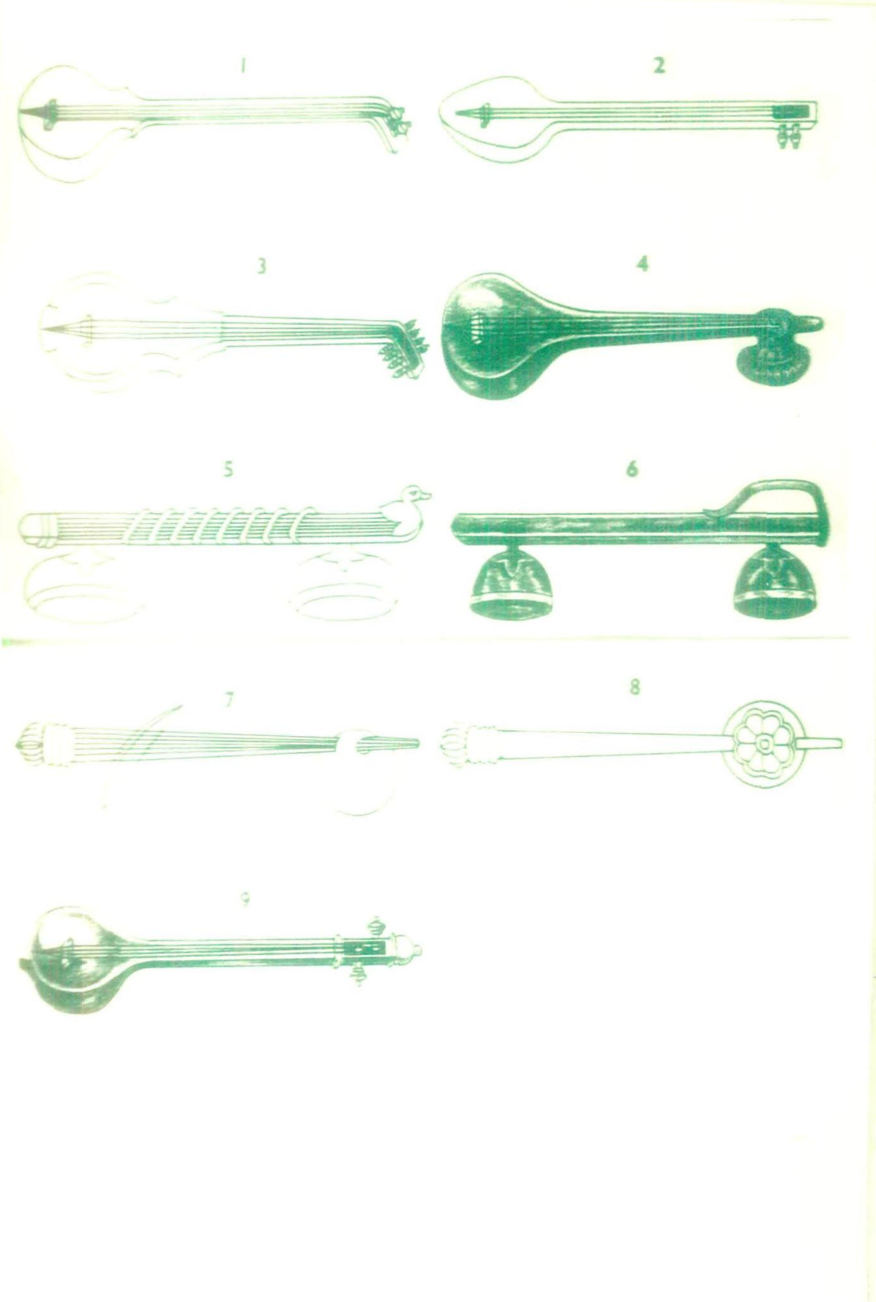


PLATE XCVIII

with the Hindu god Shiva. The performer holded it in the middle and shaked transversely. The strings provided with round knobs at their ends striken the parchment heads and produced the sound.

(d) Chordophones :

Lutes :

(I) The rubab; (plate XCVIII ; figs. 1,2,3).

It is four stringed[45] instrument somewhat resembling the modern mendolin. According to Babur it was made from the larger shells of coconut fruit,[46] two which was attached the neck. The coconut shell was chopped into a large bowl and the opening was covered with parchment. Unlike the mendoline the neck is not graduated. It was played with a plectrum held in the right hand while the fingers of the left hand moved along the strings like on the violin.[47] Its neck could be straight or moulded down at the end.[48]

(2) The Veena; or bin[49]; or bin-sitar[50]; (Ibid; figs. 5,6).

It is one of the oldest string instrument of India. Its ancient form is not altered. It is stringed with five or seven[51] steel wires.

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45. Steingass, p. 567.
46. "Its fruit is the Hindī-nut from which black spoons(qarā qāshūq) are made and the larger ones of which serve for quitar bodies. "Baburnama; Vol. II, p. 504, line 14-16.
47. Anwar; f. 5 (Varanasi); Akb; pls. 9,11,117(V.A.); ff.54,57(C.B.); Diwan; ff.30,314(Rampur); Razm; pls. 12,118(Jaipore); Tarikh; 20a, 40b, 90a, 254a (Patna).
48. Ibid; plate XCVIII; figs. 1-3.
49. Ain (Bloch.) ; Vol. I, p.682.
50. Music of India, p. 682.
51. Cyclopedia of India; Vol. III, p.442; Collieris Encylopedia; Vol. X, p. 71.

The instrument consisted a long, narrow body and gourd resonators at either ends. Both the male and female musicians played it in the accompaniment of other instruments.[52]

(3) The Kamancha; (ibid; figs. 7,8).

The Kamancha provided with three or five strings,[53] is played with a bow. It has a long neck gradually tapering towards the lower end where a small gourd resonator is connected to concentrate the sound. The performer holded it vertically.[54]

(4) The tambura; (ibid; fig. 9).

The tambura too, is an old instrument like the veena. The classical vocalists used it.[55] It has catgut strings instead of wire played with a bow.[56] Its long, narrow neck is connected to a bowl shaped gourd resonator-the opening covered with parchment unlike the mendolin, rubab etc. The neck is not graduated.

Plate 127 of the Razmnama manuscript (Jaipore) has represented a typical stringed instrument,[57] the name of which is to be ascertained. It has strongly resembled the rubab. It is handled and played with

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52. Akb; pls. 21,23,50,75(V.A.); f. 143b(C.B.); Tarikh; pls. 4b, 76b(Patna); Razm; pls. 12,118 (Jaipore).
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54. Akb; f. 147b (C.B.).
55. Cyclopedia of India; Vol. III; p. 441.
56. Tarikh; 4b,40b,(Patna).
57. Plate XCVIII; fig. 4;(This typical musical instrument, combination of the two; Rubab and Qubuz; is probably the same-invented by Qasim Kohbar. Ain (Bloch.); Vol. I, p.682).

a plectrum like the latter. An extra, small gourd resonator connected at the upper end-most probably to produce the high pitch, seems the innovation of some musician.

The instruments cited above are just a few of the instruments which were used in India those times. Besides a few these were typically court instruments. The _dilruba_,[58] _sarangi_,[59] _ektara_[60] of _jogis_, the snake charmers _mahuwari_, _sarmandal_, _ghichak_, _qubuz_ and many more such instruments do not occur in the illustrations.

The _naqqarkhana_ was an important establishment of the Mughal Kings. Akbar seems to have expanded both its composition and its functions. Abul Fazl writes in detail the various signature items as well as the _ragas_ and _ragnis_ which pentuated the daily routine of the court life.[61]

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58. _Ain_ (Bloch.); Vol. I. p.681.
59. _Ibid_; p. 682.
60. _Ibid_.
61. "After this they go through the following seven performances.
    1. The _mursalī_, which is the name of a time played by the _mursil_; and afterwards the _bardāsht_, which consists likewise of certain times, played by the whole band. This is followed by a pianissimo, and a crescendo passing over into a _diminuendo_;
    2. The playing of the four times called _ikhlātī_, _ibtidāī_, _Shīrāzī_ _qalandarī_ _nigār_ _qaṭra_, or _mukhūd_ _qaṭra_, which occupies an hour. The playing of the old _Khwārizmite_ times of these His Majesty has composed more than two hundred, which are the delight of young and old, especially the tunes _jalālshāhī_, _Mahāmīr Karkat_ (?), and the _Nawrozi_. 4. The swelling play of the cymbals. 5. The playing of _Bā miyān dawr_. 6. The passing into the tunes _azfar_, also called _rāh-i-bālā_, after which comes a pianissimo. 7. The _Khwārizmite_ tunes played by the _Mursil_, after which he passes into the _mursalī_; he then pauses, and commences the blessings on his Majesty, when the whole band strikes up a pianissmo." _Ibid_., Line 19-33.

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The band was played on two occasions. Among the solo items the surna was blown before sunrise. This was followed an hour latter by Kwarga, qarna, nafir and other band instruments. The surna was blown against sometimes afterwards and was followed by the naqqaras. The programme went on final performance of the surna.

It is obvious that each item had a particular significance. These were rather devices for announcing the timings of various routines, a practice continued by the Nawabs under the British Raj and which died away with the merger of their States in the Union.

The ornamentation of the musical-instruments is done on their parts: neck, key-board and resonators. Often the upper end of the neck is crowned with delicate carving employing the motifs of flowers, animal's head in their traditional form. The resonators of the Veena, the Tambura and the rubab etc. are decorated with bands of lines, geometrical patterns and ornamented flowers.

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62. "Formerly the band played four gharis before the commencement of the night, and likewise four gharis before day break; now they play first at midnight, when the sun commences his ascent, and the second time at dawn". Ibid, line 9-12.

(e) UTENSILS

Utensils used in the Mughal court must have been of a great variety, but the scenes depicting them being few in number the knowledge gathered from them can not be more than skatchy. Utensils are represented in the scenes of feast and festivities and in formal gartherings.[1] Besides their representation in domestic scenes, one may occasionally find their stylized and purely ornamental forms employed as emblems or symbols in the ensigns of the royality viz : alams.[2] Various categories of the utensils with commemorative ornamentation displayed in the miniatures, are of importance in providing information on the technology and tenor of life of a given period. These may be roughly divided into six groups: Kitchen pots; serving pots comprising of dishes; decorative utensils; drinking pots and cutlery.

The kitchen pots have mostly broad faces, small necks and round or spherical body with oval or flatish bottoms. These are all of large, size, obviously as each of the item of a meal was cooked in a large quantity, simple of shape, nevertheless decorated on the surface with geometrical patterns.

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1. Razm; pl. 5 (Baroda), pls. 37,38,84,88,121,125,199(Jaipore); Akb; ff. 6b, 54,169 (C.B.); pls. 27,28,32,74,94,113 (V.A.); Diwan; ff. 30,116,211,247(Rampur) ;Anwar; ff. 5,93,100,178,190 (Varanasi); Tarikh; ff. 4b,6b,20a,40b,72a,104a,118a,131b,136b, 205b, 245a (Patna).

2. Akb; f. 226b (C.P.) pl. 15 (V.A.); Razm; pl. 72 (Jaipore); Tarikh; ff. 11b, 14a,23b,24b,73b,202a,227b,238a,337b(Patna).



PLATE XCIX

The serving pots are of various types, their shapes differing according to the item each of it was ment to serve. There are long and shallow, sometimes deep dishes for containing fruits, bowls provided with or without lids, oval or semicircular dishes for holding liquid foods, large platters for rice preparations, long serving dishes the kind of which is known as Qab for vegetable and meat preparations and trays for holding full roasted birds or large pieces of meat. There are wine-containers like the long narrow-necked flasks reminiscent of the Persian mina, beautiful jars and drinking bowls and cups, the familiar payala and surahis of the Persian poetry.

Utensils used purely for the decorative purposes included big and small flower-pots, candle-sticks and zair-i-itradan - a stand employed to hold the pot of perfumes.

Degchi; (plate XCIX; figs. 1-3).

The degchi[3] or the cooking pot is infact a version of the modern deg. There are a few folios showing this utensil.. Broadly, these are all of the same shape with a minor change in their form. The body could be round, or oval or hemi-spherical in shape with flatish or or elliptical bottoms. In a few folios[4] the cooks are shown with a long spoon (Persian Kafgir). It is provided with a long handle and a round bowl at the end, The cooks employed it in trans-

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3. Akb; pls. 28,97(V.A.);Anwar; f. 178 (Varanasi); Tarikh; f. 118a (Patna).

4. Akb; pl. 28; Tarikh; f. 118a (Patna).

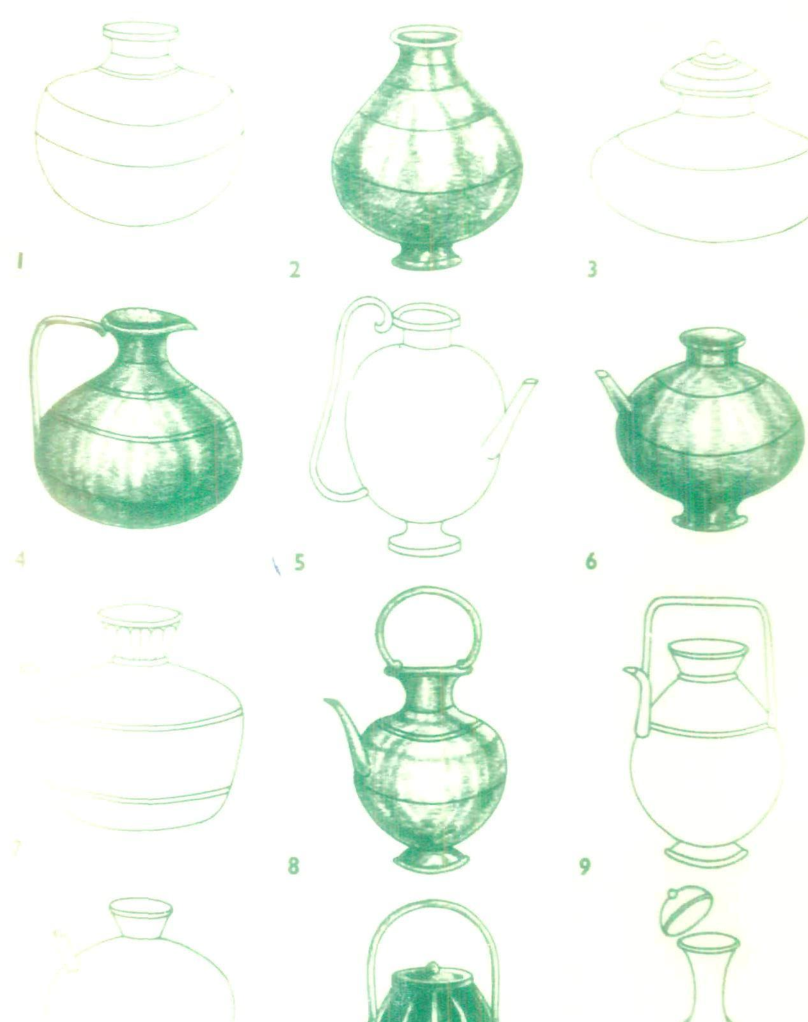


PLATE C

ferring the foods from the degchis to the serving dishes.

Gharya[5], smaller in size than degchi could also be used as cooking pot. It is made of clay with a broad opening, small-neck and elliptical body. It has resembled more with the Kalsiya of the modern times than with any of our cooking utensils (ibid; fig. 4).

For holding the water etc. jugs of varying sizes are used. Basically these are similar in shape and consist of large body-round or egg-shaped with a small neck and broad opening.[6] Mostly their bottoms are elliptical, though, sometimes a high base is provided to the pot (ibid; figs. 5-12).

Handles are rarely attached with body.[7] The manuscript of Razmnama (Jaipore) displays pitchers consisting two handles - curved like an ear, on either sides. Scenes depicting Ashavamegha - Yagha or Havan etc. help us to provide a variety in forms and decoration of pitchers-known as Kalash.

Small jugs known as lota[8], employed to carry and serve the water, are of great variety represented by the Mughal painters(plate C; figs. 4-11).

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5. Akb; pl. 97(V.A.); Razm; pls. 124, 134 (Jaipore).
6. Akb; 32 (V.A.); Anwar; ff. 93,100 (Varanasi); Razm; pl. 5(Baroda); pls. 14,18,88,121,122(Jaipore); Tarikh; ff.40b, 72a, 132a(Patna).
7. Razm; pl. 14, 122 (Jaipore).
8. Akb; pl. 61,75 (V.A.); Razm; pls. 4,36,91,125,131(Jaipore); Diwan; f. 211 (Rampur).



PLATE CI

A lota resembled pitchers mentioned above, with a difference of a spout and handle. Handle could be attached on one side, or on the top of the lid, or a little below the neck in a circular form (ibid; fig. 4 - 6).[9] The lota used by Hindu saints, known as Kamandal has the handle of the latter type. It could be with or without a spout, consisting of an oval shaped body, a small base and narrow opening. It is carried vertically like a bucket (ibid; figs. 8-11). Lota used by masons or labourers, is rarely represented in miniatures. Plate 86 (Akb; V.A.), which shows the construction of the Fatehpur Sikri - buildings; has displayed one of its type. It is made of earth consisting a small body, flatish bottom, small neck opening broadly like a funnel and a small spout for poring out the water.[10] This type of lota is known now a days as badhna.

Dishes; (plate CI).

The dishes include Qabs, platters, bowls, fruit-dishes and Surahi - containers.

[11] Qabs are more or less of the same shape: Oval with braod mouth and gradually narrow towards the bottom. Some of them have flat bottom. Other have bases, small in hieght. Qabs have varied in their sizes.

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9. Akb; pl. 61, 75(V.A.); Razm; pls. 5, 18(Baroda); pls. 4,36,91, 131 (Jaipore).
10. Plate C; fig. 7.
11. Akb; f. 6b(C.B.); pls. 23,27,79,94(V.A.); Anwar; f. 100 (Varansi); Razm; pls. 77,88,119(Jaipore); Tarikh; ff.4b,104a,118a(Patna).



PLATE CII

Lids[12] :

The lids are made in varying designs and forms depending on the shape of the mouth of the pot - a degchi, a jug, a bowl, a dish, a bottle - to be covered. Generally they are dome shaped slightly tapering down towards the edges which are concave or sometimes straight or oval and rarely convex. On the top of the lids are knobs - round, oval or pointed in shape (ibid).

Wine-pots :

Wine-pots include both drinking cups and containers

Payalas :

A great variety of their forms and designs are seen in the miniatures. These are small in size, and always with broad opening and the sides gradually narrow towards the bottom.[13] A few have flatish bottom and other a base raised from the ground. The stand which supported the bowl, has varied in hieght. Like Qabs, payalas are provided with lids. A pyala,[14] now a days known as jam; is represented in the Folio 54 (Akb. C.B.). It consists a cylinderical body, opening like a funnel. In large cups the body is slightly elongated upwards.

Containers :

Containers are of two types, distinguished by the absence or presence

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12. Plate CI.
13. Plate CII.
14. Ibid; fig. 7.

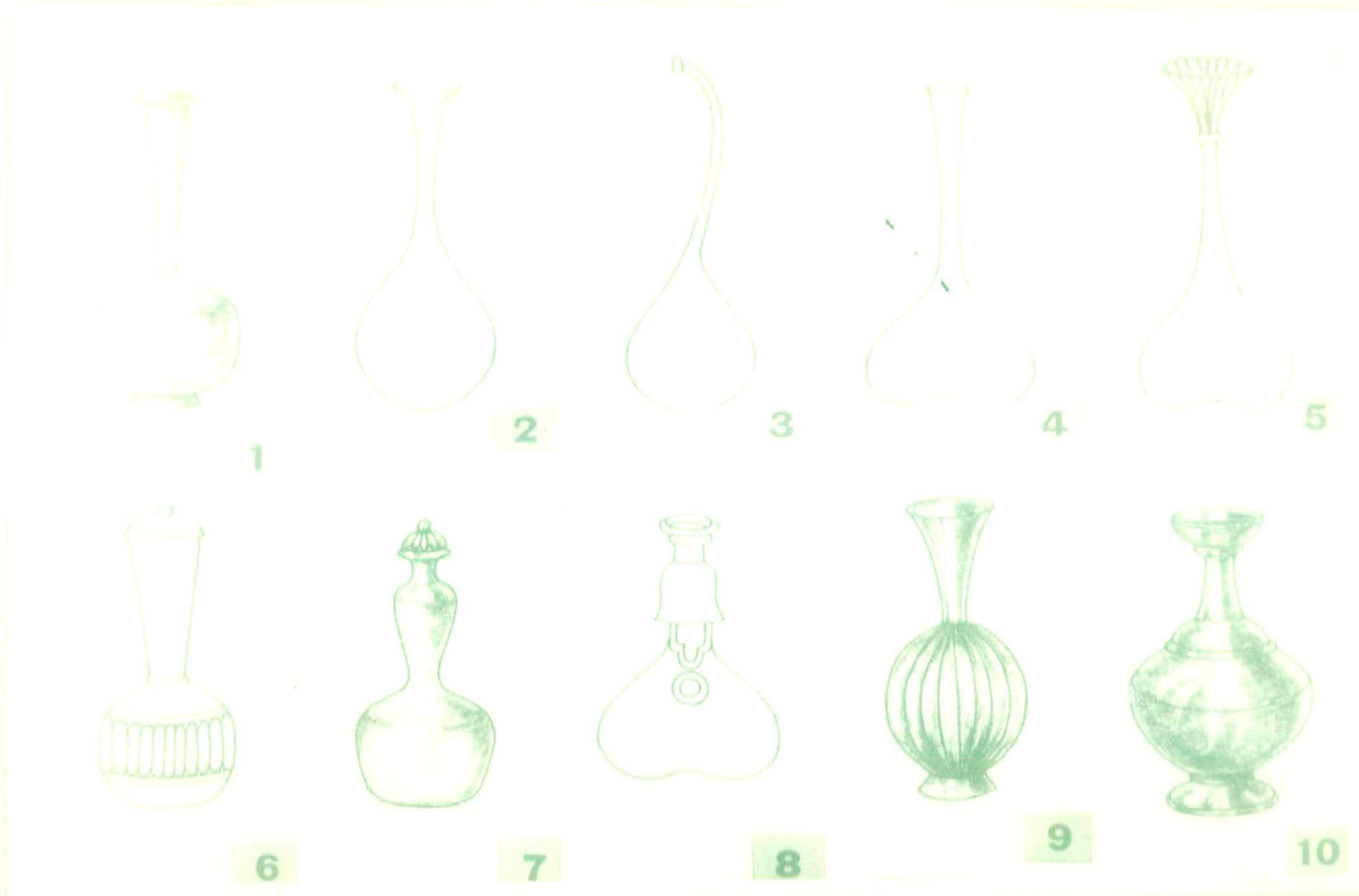


PLATE CIII (A)

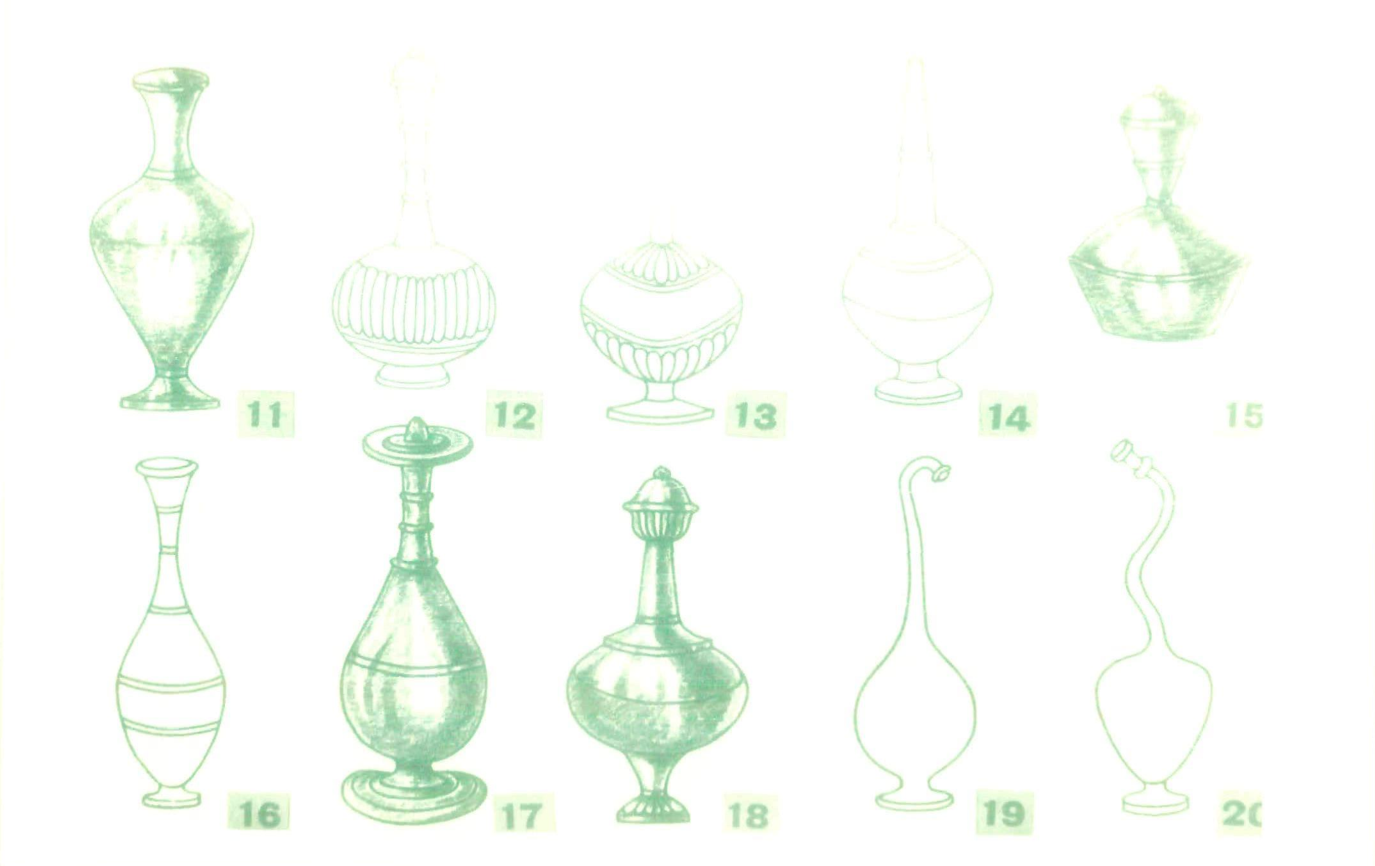


PLATE CIII (B)



PLATE CIV



PLATE CV

of handles and spouts. The plain ones are the Surahis.[15] They have long graceful necks with flower or funnel shaped mouths. Generally, the body, is round almost spherical. Their neck could be straight; or narrow in the middle; or curved in one side; or serpentine in form. Short necked Surahis are occasionally used. Surahis may or may not have a stand at bottom. A few Surahis have typical bottom - graduated in the middle.[16]

Surahis could be carried outside, in a leather-case provided with a strip or loop to hang.[17] The bag covered whole body of the pot, leaving the neck out. Besides it, a bottle made of leather, used even now a days in Rajasthan; could be carried by the soldiers etc. during the expeditions.[18] It could be hanged with the help of a string fastened at the top of lid (plate CVIX; fig.7). This bottle resembled the Surahis in form.

The second type includes what is called in Persian as Mina.[19] These are tall, beautiful Surahis but have spout - generally long, emanating from the middle or the bottom of the body. Spouts are mostly shaped like the stiff neck of a swan. There may be one or two handles on opposite sides sclaling the entire length of the pot and beautifully curved. The double handle minas do not have a spout. Instead they open like a Surahi and are covered by a lid. Rarely, we come across

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15. Plate CIII; figs. 1-20.
16. Ibid; figs. 4,5,8.
17. Tarikh; f. 62a (Patna).
18. Akb; pl.6(V.A.); Razm; pl.43(Jaipore); Tarikh; pl. 63(Patna).
19. Plate CIV and CV; figs. 1-15.

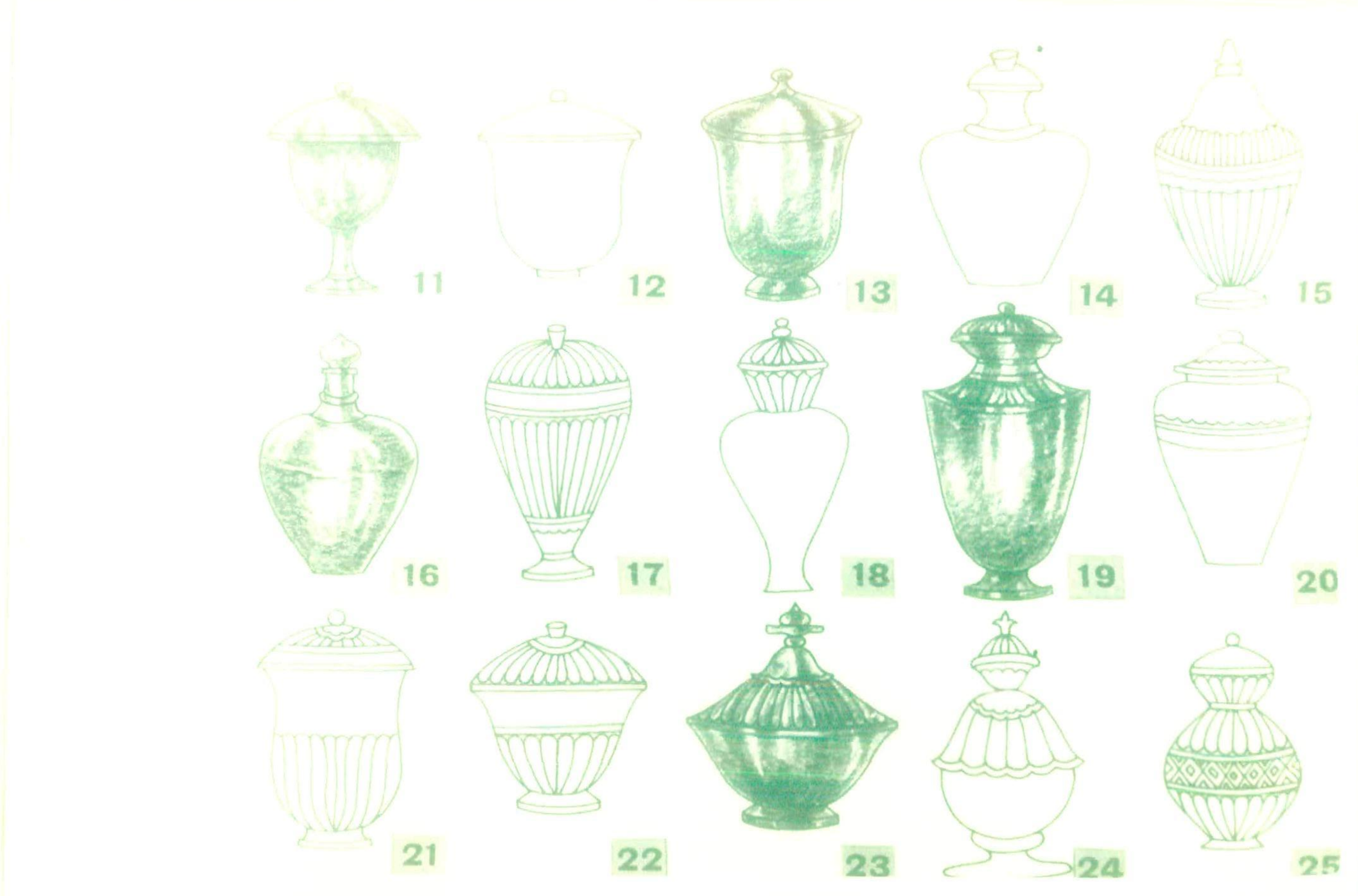


PLATE CVI

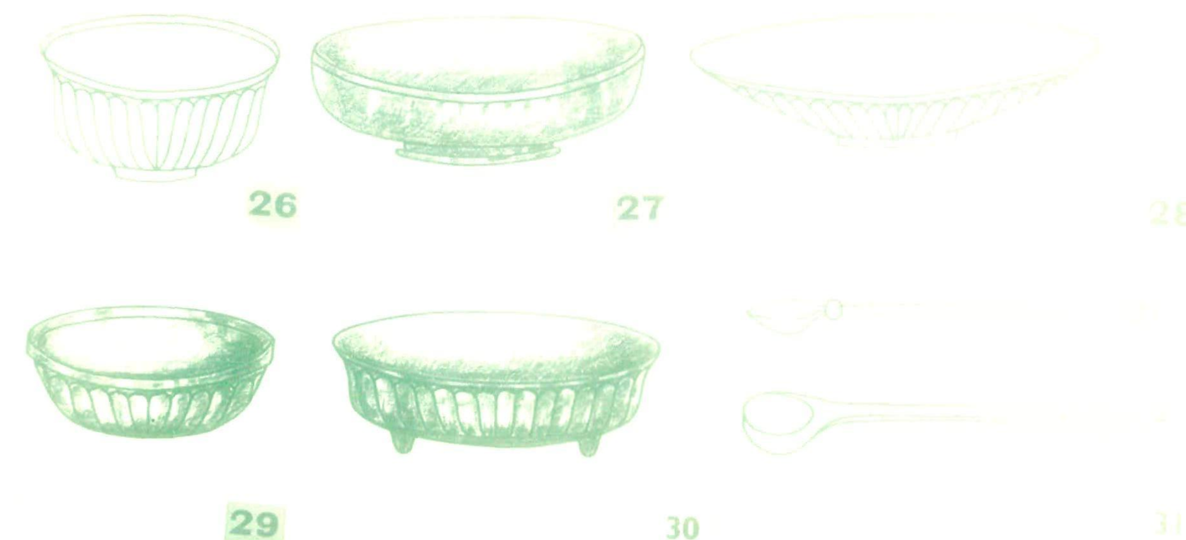


PLATE CVII (A)

a few _minas_ which consists one handle and open like a _Surahi_. In one of the illustrations (F. 208 B.M. _Tuzuk-i-Baburi_) are shown three _minas_. Their double handles are shaped like a bow, emanating from the middle of the pot and ending upwards where string made of golden or silver chain ties the lid in the middle.

Besides the _Surahis_ and _minas_, there are beautiful jars,[20] generally long, hemi-spherical in shape with small neck and base. These are large in size than _Surahis_. Mostly,jars are braod at the centre and its sides gradually narrow down towards the bottom. Their lids are not different from those of _Qabs_ in form and decoration. The jars opening like a funnel have closely resembled the bowls.

Surahi - containers[21] :

To hold the _Surahi_ and _payalas_ etc. large and deep dishes are employed. Their sides project slightly inward; or outward; or sometimes upright. Base is always flat, so as to provide an even surface to the pots, to be kept inside. A few have a base raised from the ground, small legs are rarely fixed with bottom (pl.94,_Akb_; V.A.).

Folio 6b _Akbarnama_ (C.B.) has rarely represented an utensil, served as wash-basin. An attendant is displayed holding it while a noble is washing his hands. It is a large, deep dish provided with broad

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20. Plate CVI; figs. 11-25.
21. Plate CVII - A; figs. 26-28.



PLATE CVII (B)



PLATE CVIII

mouth, flat bottom and sides projecting outward.[22] It has closely resembled the dishes, used to hold the wine-pots.

Cutlery[23] :

The cutlery includes only spoons and knives. The spoons have long stem. Their bowls are round like the soop spoon of our time. These are being shown handled in much the same way as we do - between the tips of the fore-finger, and the middle-finger and the thumb. The knives are smaller than daggers. The handle of the knife is plain, more or less rectangular. The blade is long, one edged and curved at the point. These are shown being used for cutting large pieces of roasted meat. There is no device like the fork or anything else for holding the pieces to be cut in place. This is being done with fingers of the left hand.

Fruit-dishes ; (plate CVIII ; figs. 1-11).

These are richly ornamented in their form and a variety of which is represented. Broadly, these are like a Qab, provided with high bottoms.[24] Fruit-dishes could have conic stands. Depth of the pots has varied. The manuscript of the Razmnama (Jaipore and Baroda) display deep fruit-dishes.[25] Generally these are shallow like a Qab. Lids are not provided with them.

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22. Ibid; fig. 29.
23. Ibid; fig. 31; Tuzuk; pl.24(Moscow); f.295(BM).
24. Razm; pl.6(Baroda); pls. 9,18,37,84,88,114,128,138(Jaipore); Tarikh; f. 61b (Patna).
25. Razm; pl.6(Baroda); pls. 9,18,37,84,88,114,128,138(Jaipore).

Flower-pots[26]; (*ibid*; figs. 12-15).

These are of various types : Conical or round like a pitcher, with a long or short neck; and with a high or low base. A round flower pot could have handles on either sides. They are also decorated. A flower-pot can have two are more spouts about it for holding flower bunches.[27] Plate 12 (*Razmnama*, Jaipore) shows a typical form of a flower-pot - comprising of a large bowl, with a high base, with the ends projecting upward. Flower-bases are nowhere seen.

Candle-sticks; hanging earthern lamps and *zair-i-itradan* are other decorative utensils are respresented in the miniatures. The *zair-i-itradan*[28] is a high stand provided with a cup shaped pot at the top, to hold the pots containing perfumes. Their hieght has varied. It could be simple or ornamented (plate CVIX; figs. 1,2).

Candle-stick served the purpose to hold a wex-candle at the top - where a small, deep cup is provided. Stand could be conic or straight but always flat at bottom.[29] These are of different hieght (*ibid*; figs.3,4).[30] Abul Fazl has mentioned varying forms of the candle-sticks. There

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26. *Akb*; pl. 52(V.A.); *Razm*; pl. 12 (Jaipore); *Tarikh*; pls.4,62(Patna).
27. *Tuzuk*; f. 208b (B.M.).
28. *Tarikh*; f. 118a(Patna); *Razm*; pl. 11 (Baroda).
29. *Akb*; pls. 9,27,79,94 (V.A.); *Tarikh*; ff.3b,5b(Patna); *Razm*; pl. 11 (Baroda).
30. "It is impossible to describe the beauty and various forms of the candle sticks and shades, and to give and account of the office of the workmen. Some of the candle sticks weigh ten *mans* and upwards, and are adorned with various designs; some single, others of two branches and more: they give light to the internal eye". *Ain* (Bloch.) Vol. I, p. 57.

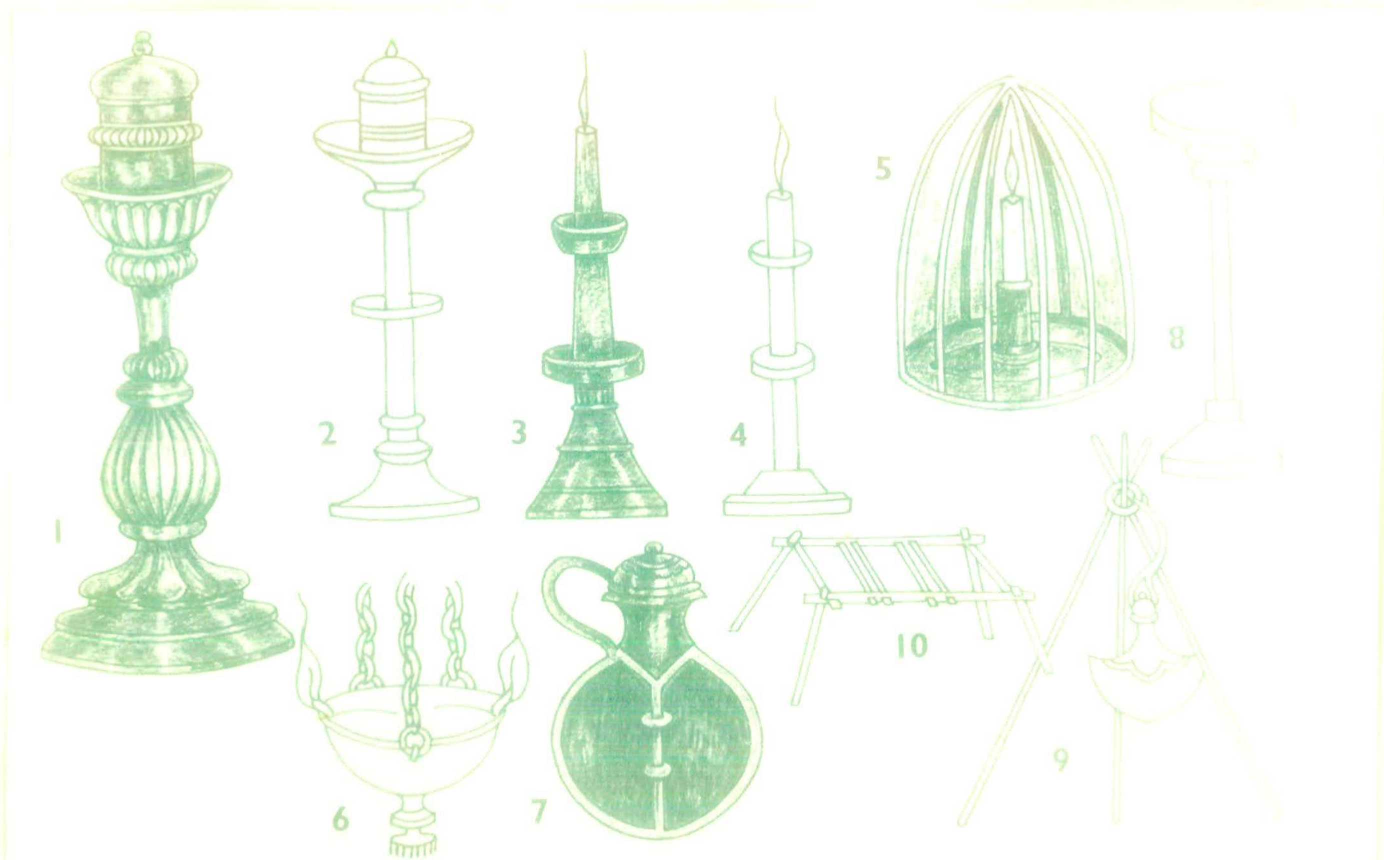


PLATE CVIX

could be single, or two or and more branches provided with cups at the top. Branches are richly ornamented with traditonal form of flowers, leaves and buds etc. Stylised forms of animals : birds etc. are also employed. He further describes of a candle-stick of one yard in hieght which holded a wex-candle of three yards in length; and to snuff the same a ladder was employed.[31] Miniatures display only Yakshakha[32] - single candle-stick.

Small candle-stick may be provided the glass-shades (*ibid*; fig. 5). Abul Fazl has mentioned the shades but has not given the description of it. The glass is framed on the metallic-cage moulded to the form of an half ellipse.

Besides wex-candles, oil-lamps were used inside and outside the palace.[33] Hanging oil-lamp provided with several wicks is rarely represented. The lamp consisted of a small bowl with broad opening. It has three rings on the outer edges, through which chains are passed to hang (*ibid*; fig.6). It is typically Indian in origin and fashion.

The small box; (plate CI; fig. 7).

To keep the food-stuff or other articles small-boxes are used. One of its type represented in the plate 119 (*Razm*; Jaipore) consists high sides slightly projecting outward, flat base and a dome shaped lid with a pinnacle at the top - similar to a *Qab*. It is a round, deep pot.

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31. *Ibid*.
32. *Ibid*; plate V, fig. 3.
33. *Razm*; pl. 12 (Jaipore).

Grace, decorativeness and symmetry are the chief characteristic of the Mughal utensils. The stylised and geometric decoration has been employed without an interruption in its form. Particularly, interesting examples are seen in the forms of _surahis_ and _minas_: zig-zag, serpentine necks and beautifully curved handles etc. According to the _Ain_, great care was taken to preserve the shape and metal of the utensils.[34] Metallic utensils were polished with _rang_ after every few months. This practice is still prevelant in India though it is quite possible that it was introduced by the Muslims in the middle ages.[35]

The utensils used in the court were made of copper, bronze, gold and silver. The latter once were often studded with precious stones. With the passage of time the utensils of the early Mughals have got destroyed. The _Ain_ also tells us that the utensils made of copper and bronze etc. were replaced by the new.[36] Those made of gold and silver have been melted. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, however has a gold spoon studded with rubbies and dimonds.[37] It is ascribed to the time of Akbar. Its reproduction is included in this thesis (plate CVII - B).

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34. "The copper utensils are tinned twice a month; those of the princes etc.,once; whatever is broken is given to the braziers, who make new ones". _Ain_ (Bloch.) ; vol.I, p. 61.

35. "The use of tin for coating household metallic utensils as a protection against acid food and metallic(copper)poisioning,may be said to have gained currency in India from the middle ages, possibly after the advent of the Muslims". _History of Chemistry in Ancient and Medieval India_; p. 217, Line 30-33.

36. '_Ain_; Vol. I, p. 61, line 25-27.

37. "Nevertheless, a gold, ruby and dimond spoon of massive and simple floral design somehow escaped the melting pot. It may have been made in the workshop near the palace to which Akbar, according to Abul Fazl, paid regular visit". _The Art of Mughal India_; p. 31, line 15-18.

(f) TECHNOLOGICAL GADGETS

Akbari illustrations help us in gathering some knowledge about various kinds of Mechanical objects and implements which were used in those times. These are represented in scenes of wars, expeditions and other activities and are, as much insufficient to enable us to form any conclusive view with regard to their technological aspects. Nevertheless a general view can be formed as to the nature of such things as irrigational and agricultural gadgets, the saddle, the stirrup, the horse-shoes, fountains and fire arms etc. Some of these interest us by their form, others by the fact of their very presence, yet others by virtue of the demand they must have made on the technological skill of the sixteenth century craftmanship. These questions are, however, beyond the scope of the present assessment. We can at the most study their forms or the modes of their workings, wherever possible.

Tools of agriculture and gardening :

Scenes depicting the farmer, or the gardener at work are few in number.[1] Not all the tools used by them are therefore displayed.[2] A few folios in the Anwar-i-Suhaili (Varanasi) and Tuzuk-i-Baburi (Delhi) manuscripts display farmers ploughing their fields in the distant background. In garden scenes some labourers are shown at work with

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1. Anwar; f. 113 (Varanasi); Razm; p. 118 (Jaipore).
2. Anwar; ff. 61, 113 (Varanasi); Tuzuk; f. 143 (Delhi).

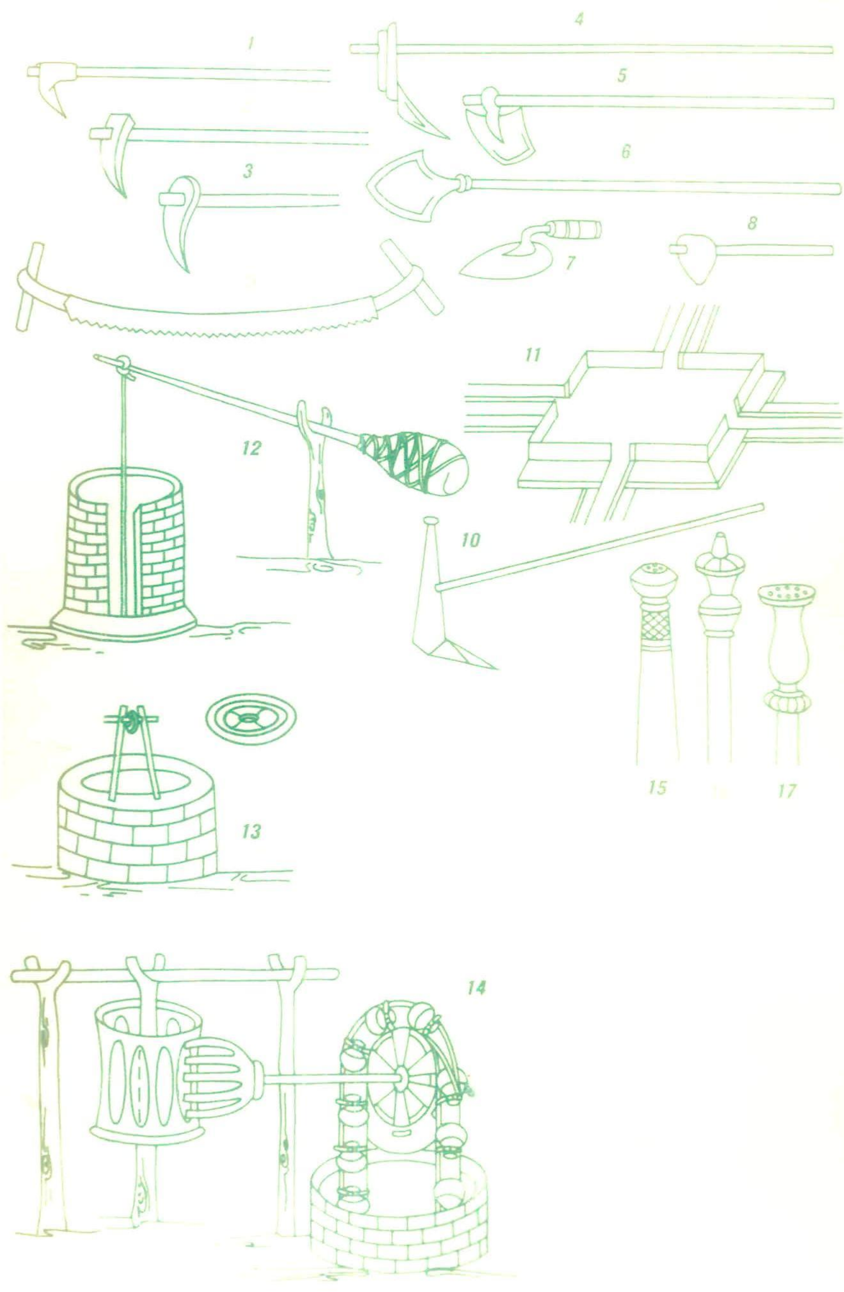


PLATE CX

digging implements - the spade, the shovel (belcha) and the Kudal.

(a) Plough (hal) :

The ploughs displayed in the illustrations resemble in shape with the one used in the present times. It has a long implement bent at the lower part to make a sharp angle. The upper part which is the handle piece is longer and seems to have been made of wood. The lower part consists of a wooden projection right at the angle and to it attached the blade. The blade is sharp, pointed and of a conical shape. It is difficult to make out whether it was made of iron or wood (plate CX, fig. 10). The farmer must have had to be skilled in balancing the tool while a pair of bullocks or buffaloes pulled it.

The plough is associated with Balrama, elder brother of Lord Krishna; who wielded it as a weapon.[3] The plough[4] when employed as a weapon, could be made like a zaghnol.[5] The blade supported on a flat piece of wood is attached to a long handle.

(b) Spade[6] :

This implement is provided with a braod, flat iron-sheet in which handle is fixed vertically. It resembles very closely with the spade now used for digging up soft or wet ground.

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3. Razm; pl. 136 (Jaipore).
4. Plate CX; fig. 4.
5. Ain (Bloch.), Vol.I, p.117, No. 30; Infra p.
6. Plate CX; fig. 5.

(c) Shovel, (the belcha)[7] :

It is made of flat iron-sheet with a long handle fixed in it horizontally. It differs from a spade. It has a concave inner surface which can hold a good quantity of earth. In a more refined shape the belcha has survived to this time. It is provided even with a leather flap to hang it by the shoulders. It is used for picking earth, dug up by a spade or a Kudal, or for levelling the ground.

(d) The Kudal[8] :

The head of a kudal is long and pointed iron-piece, shaped like a wood-pecker's bill. At one end is fixed a handle. For digging hard, dry grounds the Kudal is very effective.

Besides tools the Tuzuk-i-Baburi[9] (B.M.) depicts the method of sowing the seeds. The sower holds a long, tough sheet of coarse cloth done into a bag and hung by the shoulder. He takes a palmful of grains and scatters them in well measured swings of the hand at the regular intervals. This system is still used and is known as 'beej-bikherna'.

Means of irrigation

For the purpose of irrigation well and tanks were used, the former more commonly. The apparatus consisted of a pitcher or a bucket tied

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7. Ibid; fig. 6.
8. Ibid; figs. 1, 2, 3.
9. Tuzuk; f.173 (B.M.).

to a rope. The water pulled by it was collected in a small tank by the side of the well and from it the water flowed through an opening into narrow aqueducts to the fields.[10] The illustrations also show pullies on the wells (plate CX fig. 13). The Delhi manuscript of Tuzuk-i-Baburi[11] also shows a Persian-wheel being used for irrigation. The principle of the device is the same as observed in that used now a days in the villages and towns of India; but it appears to be comparatively primitive.[12] Instead of tin buckets the medieval apparatus is made up of earthem pitchers tied between two long ropes and supported between horizontal bars which are fixed at both ends in the vertical wheel. The ropes with the pitchers move like belts about the wheel which rotates with a horizontal shaft fixed in the wheel's hub. The shaft is connected at the other end with a large gear wheel system, the horizontal component of which is moved by animal power. The illustration does not show the animals at work, but Babur has mentioned[13] in his Memoirs. Most of the apparatus seems to be made of

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10. Anwar; f. 16 (Varanasi); Tuzuk; f. 314a (B.M.).
11. Tuzuk; f. 122 (Delhi).
12. Plate CX fig. 14.
13. "In Lāhore, Dībālpūr and those parts, people water by means of a wheel. They make two circles of ropes long enough to suit the depth of well, fix strips of wood between them, and on these fasten pitchers. The rope with the wood and attached pitchers are put over the well-wheel. At one end of the wheel axle a second wheel is fixed, and close(qāsh) to it another on an upright axle. This last wheel the bullock turns; its teeth catch in the teeth of the second and thus the wheel with the pitchers is turned. A trough is set where water empties from the pitchers and from this the water is conveyed everywhere", Baburnama, Vol. II, 486.

wood. The gear is composed of a vertical crown-shaped wheel with long, pointed pegs. The other (horizontal) component is not a cogged wheel as we have today, but a vertical drum with wooden ribs all around it, which inmesh with the pegs.

Other device of pulling out water from the well, is the dhekli[14] - as known now a days. The apparatus consists of a long pole supported on a vertical beam, provided with some weight at the lower end. On the upper part of the shaft, a rope is fastened to hang the bucket into the well. The length of the rope is enough to approach water. The rope is pulled downward by a man, to dip the bucket. Afterward the rope is jerked slightly, so as to go upward; following which heavier end of the pole comes down. The sooner bucket comes up to the ground level, man holds it, empties it and drops it again into the water. This process is done repeatedly. The dhekli is employed to irrigate small lands, now a days. A few other means of irrigation have been described in the Memoirs[15] of Babur.

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14. Plate CX, fig. 12 ; Razm; p. 140 (Jaipore).

15. "In Āgra, Chandarwār, Biāna and those parts, again, people water with a bucket; this is a laborious and filthy way. At the well edge they set up a fork of wood, having a roller adjusted between the forks, tie a rope to a large bucket, put the rope over the roller, and tie its other end to the bucket, Every time the bucket turns after having drawn the bucket out of the well, that rope lies on the bullock-track, in pollution of urine and dung, before its descends again into the well. To some crops needing water, men and women carry it by repeated efforts in pitchers". Baburnama; Vol. II, p. 487.

In his description of Hindustan Babur tells us that the people had[16] no running water in their residences and gardens. He ordered the construction of huge tanks for storing water for irrigation and other purposes.[17] In one of the illustration, Babur is shown supervising the construction of such a tank in a garden. The tanks displayed by the side of wells also served the purpose of watering the cattle. The river water was also stored in tanks, from which it was chanalised in various directions[18] (plate CX fig. 11).

Mason's tools

The illustrations[19] displaying construction of buildings have represented a few tools of masons which include a trovel (Karni)[20] and a small hammer.[21] The former is a flat-bladed hand tool for spreading morter on bricks. Its blade resembled a kite in shape, and is made with one elongated end. Head of the hammer is pointed in one side. It is fixed to a small handle and is employed to break the stones etc.

Carpenter's tool

Saw is a carpenter's tools. However in the illustration[22] a couple is shown operating their son by this tool. It consists a long flat

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16. "Except their large rivers and their standing-waters which flow in the ravines or hollows (there are no waters). There are no running waters in their garden or residences ('imartlar)." Ibid; p. 519.
17. Tuzuk; pls. 40,42 (Delhi).
18. Tuzuk; f. 173 (B.M.).
19. Tarikh; f. 58b(Patna); Akb; pls. 45,46,86 (V.A.).
20. Plate CX. fig. 7.
21. Ibid; fig. 8.
22. Razm; pl. 116 (Jaipore); plate CX, fig. 9.

narrow blade with teeth at the lower edge and small handles on either ends, fixed vertically.

Fountains

These are shown in gardens and palaces of the king. Their basins are constructed rectangular or square in shape without ornamentation.[23] The stem of a fountain is a simple masonery tube. It can have one or more spouts of varying shapes.[24] As many as six spouts[25] could be fixed on a single stem.

The Saddle

The frame of the saddle seems to be made of wood and curved so as to fit the back of the horse. It was padded up with felt and cotton rolls and covered with costly cloth, printed or embroidered tastefully. It appears from the Ain[26] that saddle-cloth was specially made for the purpose. The saddle used by ladies was similar to that[27] used by the men.

The Stirrup : (or rakab)

Leather or cotton flaps were used for stirrups. The foot-rest was made up of iron or wood. It was a U-shaped piece with a flat base.

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23. Razm; pls. 31, 118(Jaipore); Tarikh; ff. 3b,4b(Patna); Razm; pls. 4, 16 (Baroda); Diwan; f. 7(C.B.); f. 19 (Rampur).
24. Plate CX, figs. 15, 16, 17.
25. Tuzuk; ff. 173, 295 (B.M.).
26. Ain (Bloch); Vol. I, p. 143-5.
27. Tuzuk; pl. 32 (Moscow); Tarikh; f. 7b (Patna).

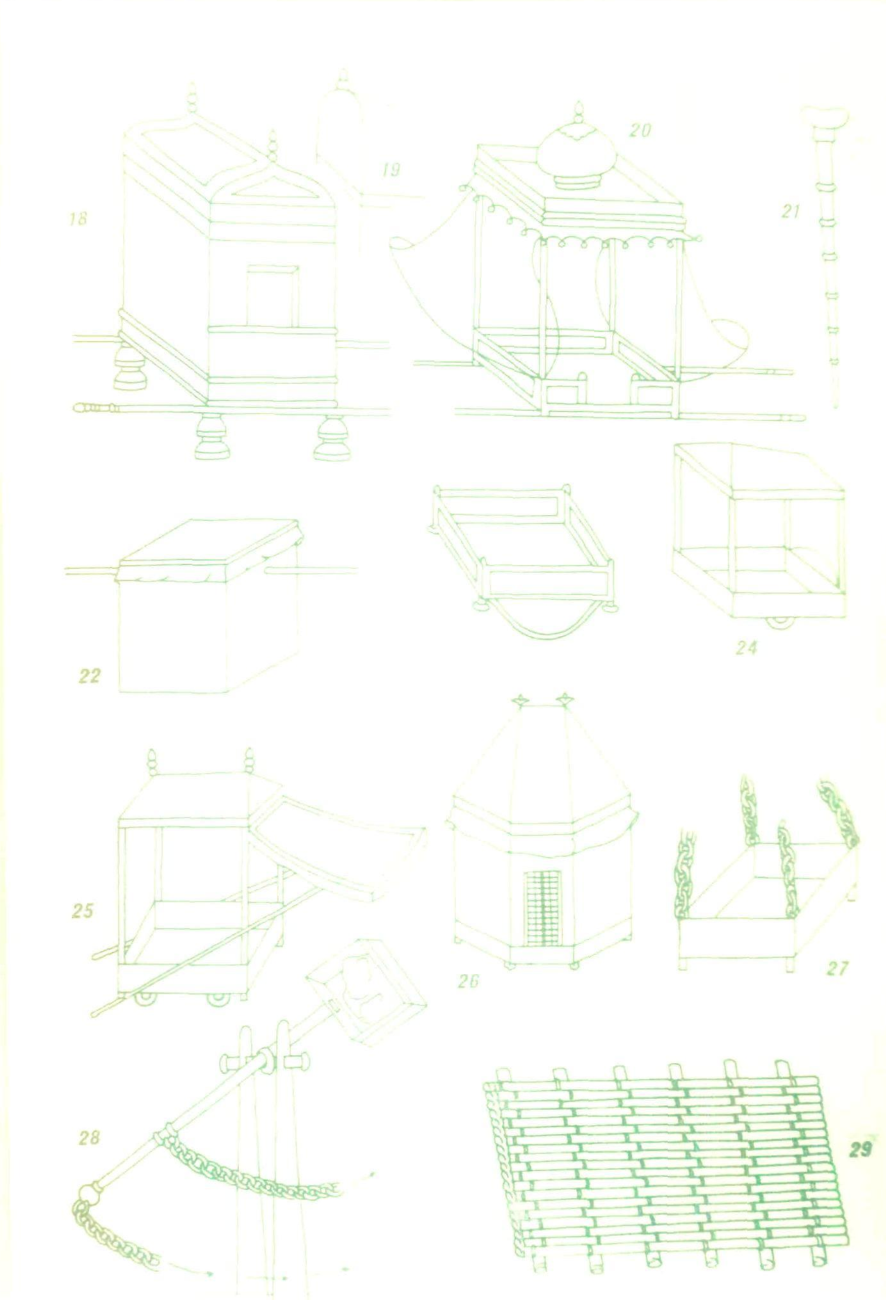


PLATE CXI

The horse shoe : (or nal)

A horse in action is generally shown with one of the fore-feet turned backwards so as to expose the horse shoe to the view. The shape is not different from that of the one used today. It must have been made of fine steel or iron. The <u>Ain</u> tells us that these were changed twice a year.[28]

Conveyances

The <u>Howdah</u> and <u>Imari</u>

Besides a few, various gears used in connection with elephants are described by Abul Fazl in the <u>Ain</u>.[29] The elephants when driven in the battle fields are provided with <u>howdah</u>,[30] fastended on their back. It is a uncovered rectanguler box made of wood with high sides-quite enough to protect a soldier sitting in it. Loops are there on either sides to fasten it.

The <u>imari</u>[31] is similar to the former with the difference of a conopy. A seat with canopy is called <u>imari</u>. Both the <u>imari</u> and <u>howdah</u> are shown mounted on elephant's back in the battle-fields, though the latter is meant for this purpose. The <u>imari</u> consists a comfortable seat with a support at the back. The canopy rests on four thin poles.

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28. "<u>Nal</u> or horse-shoes, are renewed twice a year. Formerly eight <u>dāms</u> were given for a whole set, but now ten". <u>Ain</u> (Bloch); Vol. I, p. 145.
29. <u>Ibid</u>; pp. 134-137.
30. Steingass; p. 1517(a seat to place on an elephant's back); plate CXI, fig. 23.
31. <u>Ibid</u>; p. 866(A canopied elephant letter); plate CXI, figs. 24, 25.

Litters

It is a rectangular seat provided with a canopy, carried on the shoulders of two or four men.[38] Both ladies and gents travelled in litters. The litters used by ladies, are covered on sides. One or two windows may be provided for cross-ventilation. These are covered with wooden blinds. Seats are made comfortable with cushions and _gaw-takyias_ etc. Long poles are connected with the bottom lengthwise on either sides. The palaquin bearers carried it on their shoulder. They held crutches in their hand for support. The top of a crutch is provided with a wooden piece having depression in the middle so at to fit the arm-pit. Litters are made in varying size and embellished with cloth bands and thread-work.

A wooden-case similar to the _howdah_, could be employed to lower down the soldiers from the top of a hill into a velly.[40] It is provided with chains on either ends, which are connected with the main chain. The case accommodated four to six men at a time. It is lowered down like a bucket. The main chain is left loose by the men holding it at the top, so as to come downward.

A machine called _manjaniq_[41] employed in lifting heavy stones represented in the manuscript _Tarikh-i-Alfi_ (Patna), consists of a long pole having a wooden-case at the upper end and two long chains at the lower part. The pole rested on a horizontal bar attached to the beams fixed

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38. Plate CXI, figs.18,19,20 ;_Tarikh_; ff.143b,230a,238a(Patna) ;_Razm_; pl.13(Jaipore) ;_Akb_;f.25(C.B.) ; pl.77 (V.A.).
39. Plate CXI, fig. 21.
40. Plate CXI, fig. 27; _Tarikh_; ff. 69b,122a(Patna).
41. _Ibid_; fig. 28; Steingass; p. 1324(a).
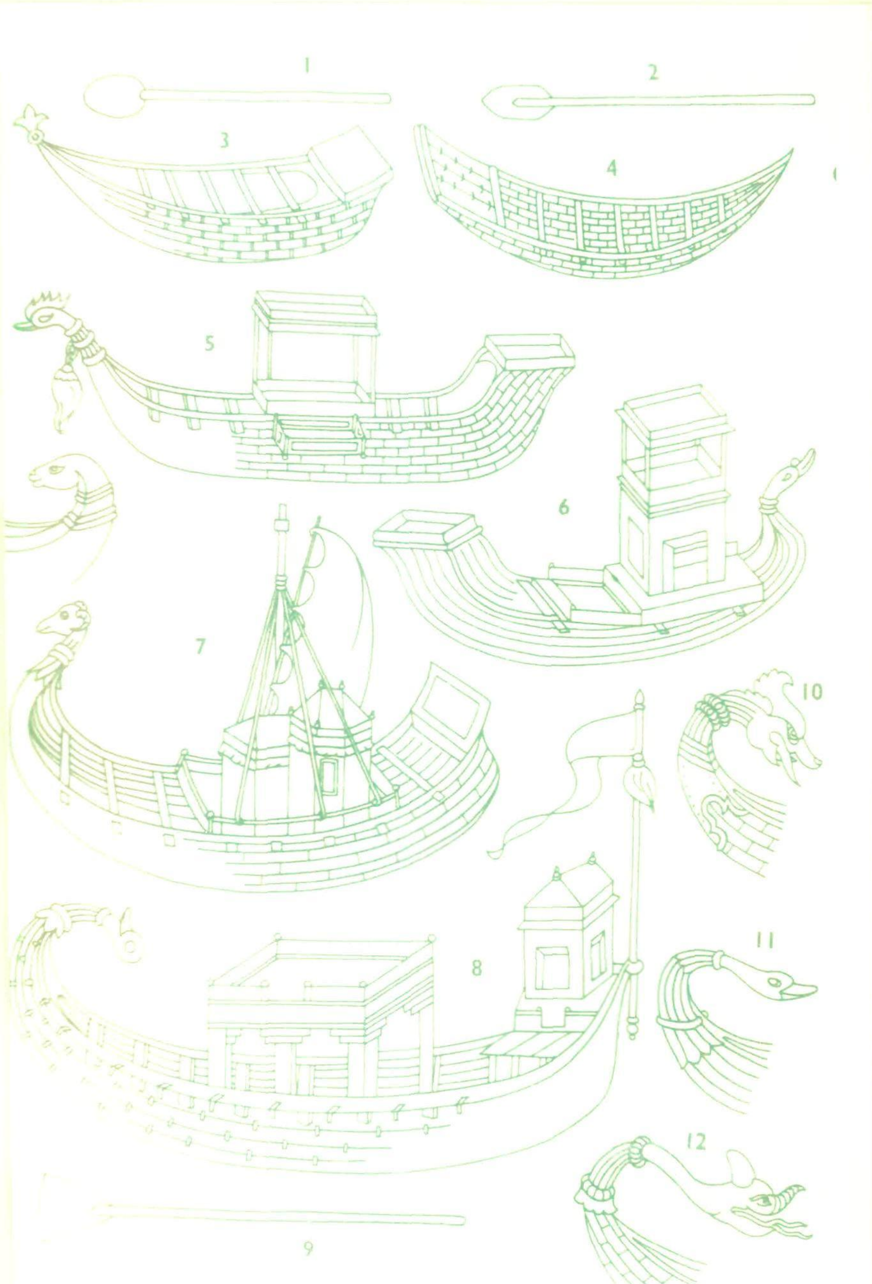


PLATE CXII

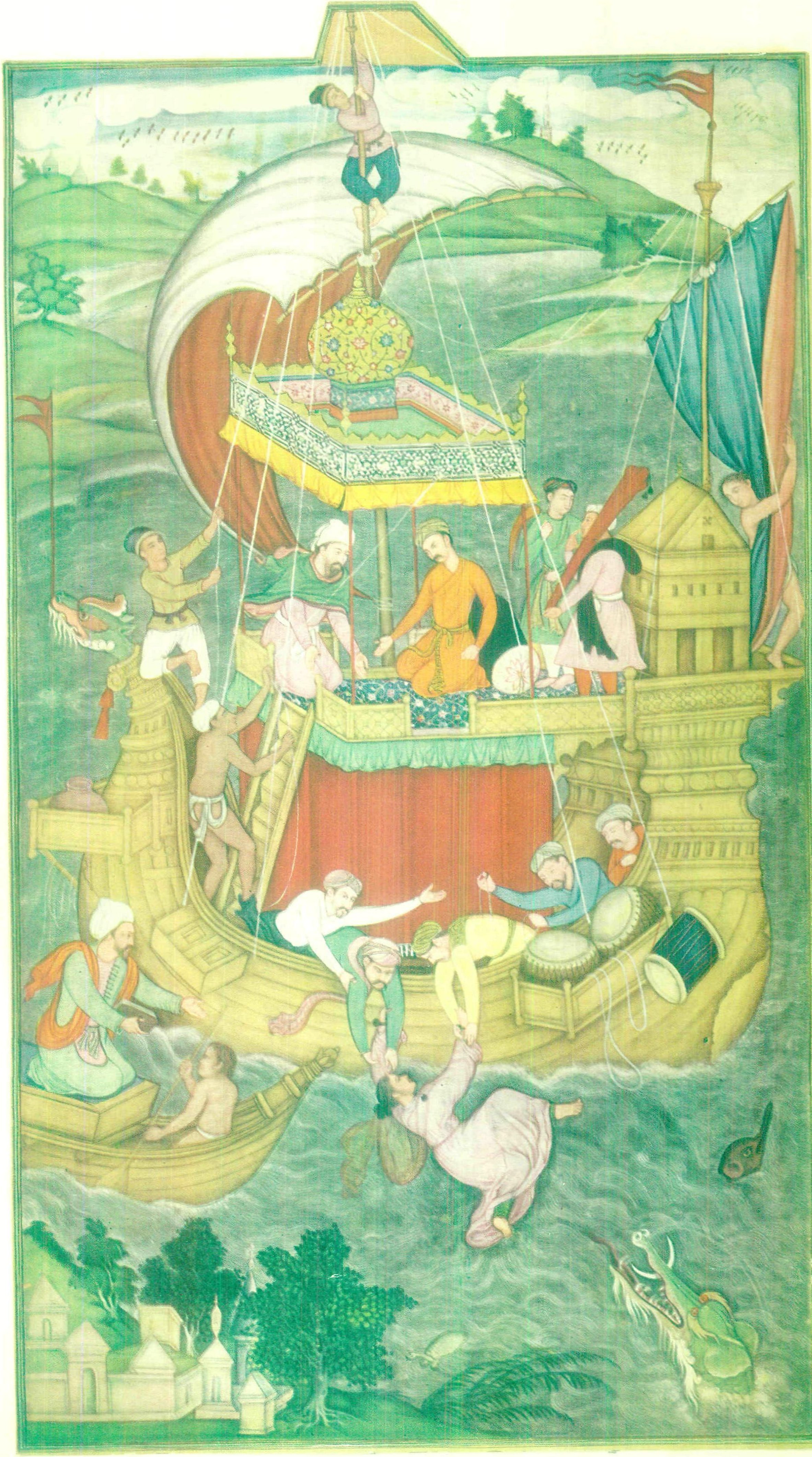


PLATE CXIII

vertically on the ground. In its still position, upper end of the pole rested on the ground. Stones are kept inside the case. Sooner the chains are pulled by men, this end goes upward. In the illustration this gadget is shown employed in a siege to throw stones inside the fort from a safer distance. For the purpose it seems that the apparatus was made of high beams so as to give a long swing to the stones, and the chains were pulled in a force.

Boat

Boats are quite frequently represented in the illustrations.[42] These are shown engaged in loading or unloading the camp material; crossing the river; in the battles and sieges and journeys etc. etc. For various uses different type of boats, varying in size and shape are made.[43] Commonest and simple in form is a boat engaged for small journeys. It has a small squarish-plateform at a end. The sides are gradually narrow towards the other end, to a point. Top-view of the boat appears like a long, pointed leaf. The end is mounted with a cusped shape flower, or a pinnacle, or a knob, or sometimes head of a dragon.[44] A boatman rowed it with a paddle. It is made with a broad, flat, egg-shaped blade attached to a long handle.

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42. Razm; pls. 121,140(Jaipore); Akb; pls. 6,13,21,22,28,47,48,64,97 (V.A.); Tarikh; ff. 17a,51a,55b,101a,103b(Patna).

43. Plate CXII, fig. 2.

44. Ibid; figs. 1, 2, 9.

Boats engaged in battles and journeys etc. are deep and large in size.[45] Both the ends are projected upward. One of it ends in a plateform. The other always ends to a point mounted with the head of a dragon, a bird, or a animal. Among them heads of a duck, a ram, a horse etc. are favoured. The serpentine necks of the dragons, elongated beaks, furious expressions are affiliated to the Chinese decore of an object. These heads of the animals may be associated with Islamic tradition and considered as their traditional emblems.[46] The boats engaged in royal services are embellished with Yak-tails, attached at one end. Sometimes a flag is also fixed with the plateform.

Boat engaged in a battle is provided an extra appartments in either sides for soldiers.[47] The main seat erected in the centre is made with a canopy. Boatmen took their positions in the belly of the boat and rowed it.

An assembly of the courtiers and nobles etc. could be held on a pavallion erected on small poles in the middle part of a huge boat.[48] Attendants etc. stayed down the pavallion. It is made with side railings and occasionally a shamyiana[49] could be provided for shade. The plateform at the end may be flat or furnished with a small room.[50]

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45. Ibid; figs. 5,6,7.
46. Ibid; figs. 5,8; Akb; pls. 47, 48 (V.A.).
47. Plate CXII, fig. 5; Akb; pl.47 (V.A.).
48. Ibid; fig. 8.
49. Akb; pl. 48 (V.A.).
50. Plate CXII.

Journey boats are generally made with a pavallion having a canopy.[51] Double-deckers are also used.[52] For ladies, boats are made with small compartments, covered from the sides.

Boat-bridges are made to cross the rivers. For this purpose specially designed boats are choosed.[53] These are shallow, flat-bottomed with one square-end. Other end is pointed. It has resembled the punt of today. Several such boats are placed in a row approaching the banks of a river. These are inter-connected with one another and fastened with the poles fixed in the grounds on the river sides. On this foundation a plateform made of poles, beams covered with straw and clay etc. could be prepared. The army with their animals: elephants, horses etc. crossed over the bridge.

Boats are rowed by the paddles or long poles. A paddle is made with flat, broad plank at the lower end.[54] The mast and sails are[55] employed in large boats. The pole is also provided with a cross-bar to make row easy.[56] The body of a boat is made of wooden planks wedged

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51. Tarikh ; ff. 51a, 55b, 101a, 103b(Patna) ; Akb; pls. 6,47(V.A.).
52. Plate CXII, fig. 6 ; Anwar; f. 190 (Varanasi) ; Akb; pls. 38, 48 (V.A.).
53. Plate CXII, fig. 4.
54. Ibid; figs. 1, 2, 9.
55. Anwar; f. 190 (Varanasi) ; Tuzuk ; f. 504 (B.M.) ; Diwan ; f. 284 (Rampur).
56. Tuzuk ; pl. 69 (Moscow).



PLATE CXII

one into the others. There is no hull.

According to the Ain Akbar paid much attention to the building of boats and supervised their supply as well.[57] Bengal and Sindh were the centres of boat-building. In Thatta alone 40,000 vassels were always kept ready.[58] These were built for transport, sieges and trade. Their shapes and sizes varied accordingly.

Besides the boats, rafts were also used for crossing rivers.[59] A raft was a flat plane made of bamboo and wooden poles fastened together like a mat. The plateform had sufficient space to accommodate four to eight men at a time. A few of the illustrations display Babur sitting on a raft.[60] It was not rowed but pushed by several boatmen by the logs provided across the bottom. The raft seems to have been a practically successful means for crossing small rivers.

Fire-arms

Guns appear in scenes of war, siege and occasionally hunting. Broadly these can be divided as heavy and light guns which have been already described.[61] Heavy guns or cannons were used in battles and sieges;

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57. "The government of India under Akbar, however, as might be naturally expected, gave a great impetus to Indian shipping and ship building, especially in Bengal". Indian Shipping; p. 339.

58. "The means of locomotion is by boats, of which there are many kinds, large and small, to the number of 40,000". Ain(zarret); Vol.III, p. 339.

59. Plate CXI, fig. 29.

60. Tuzuk; f. 333 (B.M.); pl. 33 (Moscow).

61. Infra; pp.

while light guns were used chiefly for hunting. Babur tells us that the matchlockmen took part in the battles of Khanwa and Panipat.[62] He has also described the method of manufacturing a gun.[63] Under Akbar manufacturing of guns was greatly improved and Abul Fazl syas that no artillery with the exception of that of Turkey stood comparison with the Mughal artillery in number and variety of fire-arms.[64]

The gun was normally carried on the shoulder. There was no folding device in the middle, but the whole gun was a long barrel from end to end. It was fitted on a one-piece wooden rest. Towards the back-side the wooden rest was thick almost cylinderical. This was the butt. The fore part of it was as thin as a pipe and gradually tapering upto the end being the thinest below the nozzle. It was worked like the original matchlock without a trigger. With this

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62. Baburnama; vol. II, p. 469; 569.

63. Ustad - 'Alī-qulī had been ordered to cast a large mortar for used against Biana and other forts which had not yet submitted. When all the furnaces and materials were ready, he sent a person to me, on Monday the 15th of the month, we went to see the mortar cast. Rowed the mortar - mould he had had eight furnaces made in which were the molten materials. From below each furnace a channel went direct to the mould. When he opened the furnace-wholes on our arrival, the melton metal poured like water through all these channels into the mould. After a while and before the mould was full, the flow stopped from one furnace and after another. Ustād 'Alī-qulī must have made some miscalculation either as to the furnaces or the materials. In his great distress was for throwing himself into the mould of melton metal, but we comforted him, put a robe of honour on him and so brought him out of his shame. The mould was left a day or two to cool; when it was opened. Ustād Alī-qulī with great delight sent to say,"the stone chamber(tāsh-awī) is without defect; to cast the power compartment (dārū-khāna)". Ibid, p. 536-7.

64. "With the exception of Turkey; there is perhaps no country which in its guns has more means of securing the government than this". 'Ain (Bloch). Vol. I, p. 119.

shape and working, it is quite obvious, that the guns used during those time were only smaller versions of the cannon. They must have been pretty cumbersome and unwielding to be useful for quick action.

We come across of a few hand guns[65] provided with cock, ramrod and pargaz[66]. The sooner the ramrod is pressed, cock hammers the priming pan - containing some sort of ingetious material; and ball of gun shot are shoved in the barrel through the nozzle.

Cannons are no different from those used in the later period. The miniatures however do not contain many illustrations of this weapon which shows that the emperor depended on cavalry while the cannons were used casually. Their nozzles were made of varying size. Akbar introduced the system of moulding the nozzle into parts[67] and these could be taken separately during expeditions and assembled together when required. This device made them easily portable. Further a nozzle in one-piece could be made by rolling obliquely to a flat, long iron sheet[68]. Either edges of the sheet overlapped one another forming a roll which gradually narrowed towards the end. And then the fold is joined. Under the another process long, cylinderical

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65. Plate LXXXV, figs. 1-3.
66. Ain (Bloch.) Vol.I, p. 121.
67. "He made a gun, on marches, can easily be taken to pieces, and properly put together again when required". Ibid; p. 119.
68. "His Majesty has invented an excellent method of construction. They flatten iron, and twist it round obliquely in form of roll, so that the folds get longer at every twist; then join the folds, not edge to edge, but so as to allow them to be one over the other, and heat them gradually in the fire." Ibid; p. 120.

iron bars are pierced with an iron pin. The rod is pierced when it is hot. Three or four such pierced bars when joined together[69] make a gun. Small nozzles required only two bars.[70]

Besides the various types of guns described in the _Ain_, the gun made with seventeen nozzles and shot by one match has escaped the artist's view.[71]

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69. _Ibid_.
70. _Ibid_.
71. "His Majesty joins seventeen guns in such a manner as to be able to fire them simultaneously with one match." _Ibid_; p. 119.

CHAPTER VI :

THE COMMON PEOPLE

Even though the Akbari painters were not primarily concerned with the depiction of the common people, there are many miniatures in which they have been depicted. These includes shepherds with their sheep,[1] goats and buffalos grazing in the field or silhouetted against the hill; singers and dancers[2] accompanied by their partymen;[3] saints residing in a solitary place by the side of a prayer house, by a river or hills; stable attendants[4] giving fodder to the animals, cultivator[5] with plough and bullocks in the field; mason[6] with water-carrier, labourers carrying building material, bird-catches[7] intently crouched around the net; young girls[8] pulling water from the well or carrying the picther on the head in murky solitude below the robest wall of a fort; boatmen[9] rowing their boats etc. etc. All these divert

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1. Akb; pl. 85 (V.A.); Tuzuk; f. 44 (B.M.); Akb; pl. 85 (V.A.); Tarikh; f.21(Patna).
2. Diwan; ff. 30,116,147(Rampur); Akb; f. 143b (C.B.); pls. 8,78, 79, 80 (V.A.); Tuzuk; ff. 2,279,395,418(B.M.); Tarikh; ff. 4b, 20a, 40b,72a,90a, 205b,136b,154a (Patna); Anwar; ff. 5, 208 (Varanasi).
3. Tuzuk; ff.199,370b(B.M);Anwar;f.32(Varanasi)
4. Tuzuk;f.163(B.M.); Tarikh; f.42b (Patna).
5. Tuzuk; f.143(Delhi); Anwar; ff. 61,113 (Varanasi).
6. Akb; 153 (C.B.);Akb; pls.45,46,86,66,(V.A.); Tarikh; f.58b(Patna); Tuzuk; f. 181b (B.M.).
7. Tuzuk; f. 190(B.M.); f.45(Delhi); pl.22(Moscow);plate.........(Fog Art Museum); Published in the book 'The Art of Mughal India' on plate 9; Anwar; f. 61 (Varanasi).
8. Tuzuk; pl. 67 (Moscow).
9. Akb; pl.13,22,48(V.A.);Tarikh; ff. 17a,51a,101a,103b(Patna);Anwar; f. 190(Varanasi); Diwan; f. 234 (Rampur); Akb; pls. 22,38,47,48, 97 (V.A.).

our attention from the atmosphere of the court to the austere side of the sixteenth century life of the common man. Not quite ordinary as these, the royal attendants, drumbeaters pipers and guards are persons most frequently met with. They are shown in the illustrations of their occupations.

Their proximity to the focal point in the miniature is determined by the nature of their functions. The inner circle is generally occupied by a king, the next by nobles and chiefs and the next by other attendants of court. The ordinary man like a cultivator, or a shepherd may be introduced in outdoor scenes to make the outermost circle. They are admitted either by the logic of the situation or for completing[10] the background. The attendant bearing the royal _chattra_ or _sayaban_ and the king's body-guard are shown inevitably nearer the royal persons.

More than their dresses the various categories of the people may be distinguished by the work in which they are shown occupied. Ordinarily a shepherd would be shown with hardly anything more than a loin cloth about him. But he may be shown dressed in a _jama_, a _patka_, a _payjama_ and a pair of shoes like a well-to-do person as in folio 44 (_Tuzuk_, B.M.). Likewise the boatmen, elephant drivers and labourers are treated with various dresses on. It is only through the work being performed

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10. _Akb_; ff. 6b, 19, 49b, 54, 122b, 157b (C.B.); pls. 9, 14, 15, 33, 38, 40, 41, 60, 61, 63,65, 77, 81, 83, 85, 93, 97, 99, 110, 117 (V.A.). _Tarikh_; ff. 9a, 12a, 26b, 28b, 54a, 55b, 59b, 67b, 108b, 147b, 154b, 227b, 230a, 322a, 323a (Patna).



PLATE CXIV (A)

by them that we identify them.

No discernable difference in their features distinguishes them from each other. The ordinary man too is a type.

Exclusive illustrations[11] of the life of the common people are few in number and include such subjects as saints, traders, mason and labourers. The rest are shown performing their works presumably for the king and as such are to be treated as royal servants. Nevertheless all these paintings provide us with a good source for the study of the life of the common people. However, such a study will be of a very general in nature.

Boatmen, (plate CXIV - A).

The painters do not seem to have followed a uniform principle with regard to the dress of a boatmen. They are shown half-naked[12] or fully clad.[13] The former kind of boatmen are shown along with a piece of cloth fastened round the waist. Casually the shoulder is covered by an additional piece of cloth thrown over the back or tied over the head like a turban. The fashion of the head gear is generally the same as observed in the case of other figures. Occasionally, we come across

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11. Akb; pls. 45,46,86 (V.A.); Tuzuk; ff. 6, 173,199,370b(B.M.).

12. Tuzuk; ff. 204, 333, 504 (B.M.); pls. 33, 69 (Moscow); Tarikh; ff. 17a, 51a, 101a (Patna); Akb; pl. 22 (V.A.).

13. Tuzuk; f. 459 (B.M.); pls. 32,69 (Moscow); Tarikh; f. 103b(Patna); Diwan; f. 284 (Rampur); Akb; pls. 38, 47, 48,97 (V.A.).

boatmen wearing caps. The latter kind of boatmen are shown wearing a _jama_, short-_payajama_, a turban, plain or decorated, and a _patka_ made of a long piece of cloth girdles the waist. This also may or may not be decorated by motifs. The trouser is generally short in length and hardly reached below the knees. It is quite possible that the difference observed between the dresses of the boatmen was due to some sort of a difference in their respective placement in the royal establishment concerned with water transport. Boatmen shown wearing the austere dress represent the lowest category of boatmen temporarily acquired or employed in regular service; while those shown in full dress represent a regular cadder.

Fishermen, (plate CXV).

They are rarely depicted[14] and are shown wearing only _langotas_ (loin-cloth). They resemble in appearance with boatmen when depicted half-naked. Like the boatmen a fisherman carried a piece of cloth on the shoulder and sometimes used the same as head-gear. The illustration on folio 143 (_Tuzuk_; Delhi) also represent the method of catching fish by net which is not different than the net used now a days.

Shepherd

Like the boatmen,[15] the shepherd are also shown dressed either barely with a piece of loin-cloth or fully in _jamas_, short-_payajamas_, caps

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14. _Akb_; pl. 85(V.A.); _Tuzuk_; f. 143 (Delhi); _Anwar_; f. 61 (Varanasi).

15. _Akb_; pl. 85 (V.A.); _Tuzuk_; ff. 44, 478 (B.M.); _Akb_; pl. 85(V.A.); _Tarikh_; f. 21a (Patna).



PLATE CXV

and even shoes - the latter rarely. The jama is shorter than those worn by the gentry. The cap they are shown wearing is interesting for its shape. It is high; oblong in shape and tightly fitting the head. Round the base is found an overlining of fur. It bears a strong resemblance with the cap that was worn by the Mongols and Iranians. When shown half-naked, there appears no difference between the shepherd and others of his class like the boatmen and fishermen and the labourer etc.

Wood-cutter

He is the subject of a single illustration represented in the Anwar (Varanasi) on folio 218. He is shown dressed in a coat made of skin provided with half-sleeves and resting a lettle below the waist; a short trouser and a skin-cap. Like a shepherd or a boatman he also used a cloth-belt to fasten the coat on the waist.

Cultivator, (plate CXV).

The cultivator is displayed in only three illustrations.[16] He is shown ploughing the field and dressed in a turban, jama and a dhoti (long cloth tied in folds round the waist, with one end carried between the legs and tucked behind). The dhoti resembles the langota which hardly reaches upto the knees. His representation is found rarely.

Bird-trapper, (plate CXIV - A).

The miniatures showing bird-trappers at their job are happily given

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16. Tuzuk; f. 143 (Delhi); Anwar; ff. 61, 113 (Varanasi).



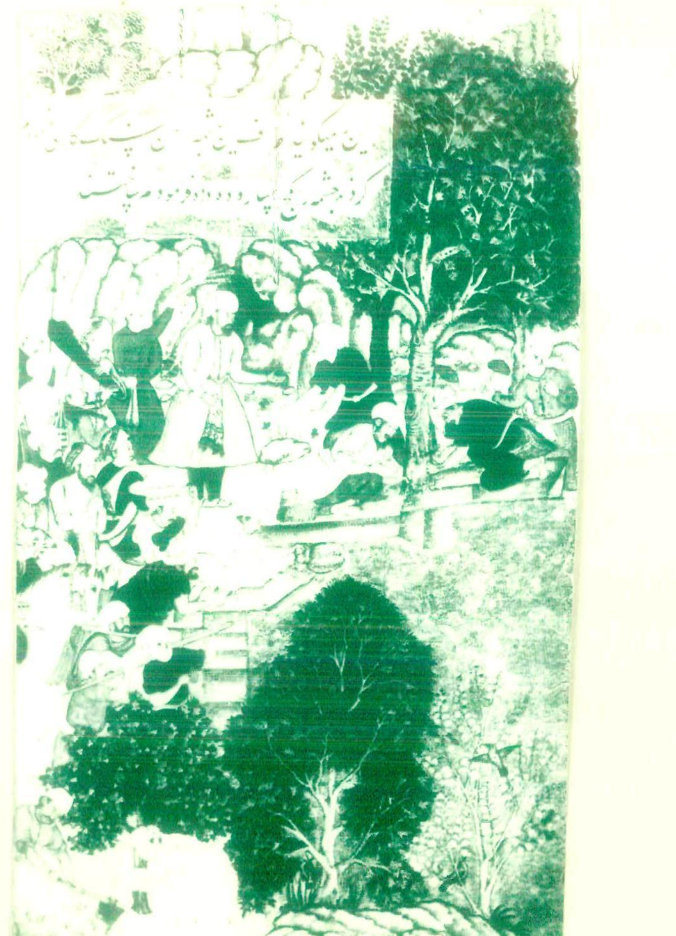


PLATE CXVI (A)

(B)

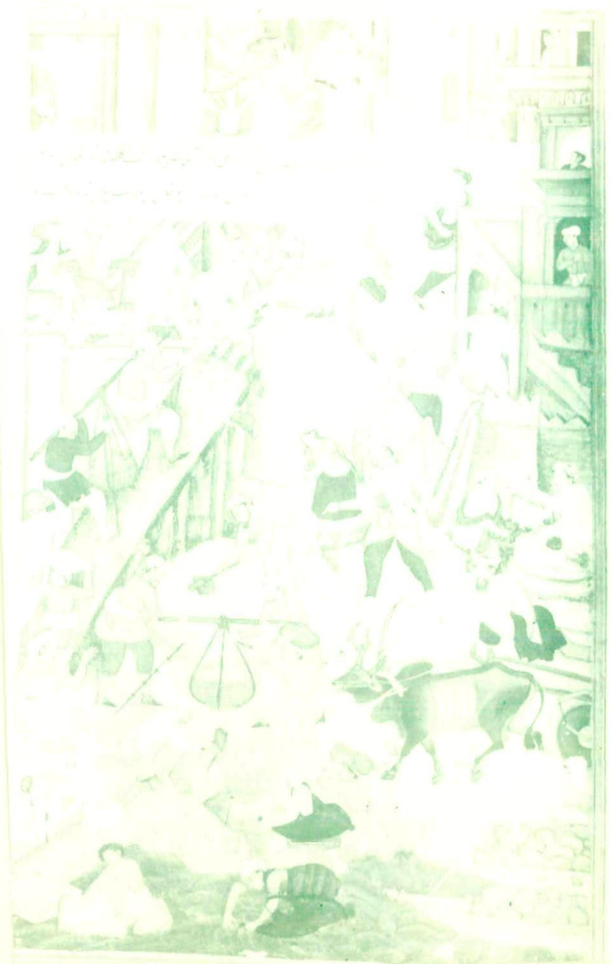




PLATE CXVII (A-I) (II)

in the four manuscripts of the _Tuzuk_.[17] In all of these the trappers are shown wearing _jamas_ of full length coming down upto the middle of the shin bone. Round the waist it is tied by a _patka_. Some are wearing shoes. The method of catching the birds is similar to what is still prevelant in India. The net is spread on the ground. The birds are attracted by the grains sprinkled below the net. The unwary birds descend unmindful of the trappers hiding around and as their legs are caught in the holes of the net, one of the trapper pulls the string where upon the loops close upon the bird's legs. The illustration[18] (Fog Art Museum) shows an additional gadget for the purpose. It is a short pole with a slightly bent head which is smeared sufficiently with some sort of glue (_lasa_, as it is now a days called). This was used for catching a bird sitting within the stick's appraoch on the bough of a tree. The trapper would emerge from his hiding place. Stealthly and touch the bird with the glue which would instantly catch the feathers disabling the victim from flying. An oval basket with a narrow opening was used for keeping the trapped birds.

Mason, (plates CXVI & CXVII).

He is shown constructing a tank in a garden[19] or measuring the land by a rope[20] or constructing a building or fort.[21] A water-carrier and

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17. _Tuzuk_; f.190 (B.M.); f.45(Delhi); pl. 22(Moscow); plate XLV (Fog Art Museum); _Anwar_; f. 61 (Varanasi).
18. Plate XVIII.
19. _Tuzuk_; f. 181b (B.M.); pl. 42 (Delhi).
20. _Tuzuk_; pl. 21 (Moscow).
21. _Akb_; f. 153(C.B.); pls. 45, 46, 66, 86 (V.A.); _Tarikh_; f. 58b (Patna).



PLATE CXIV (B)



PLATE CXVII (B)

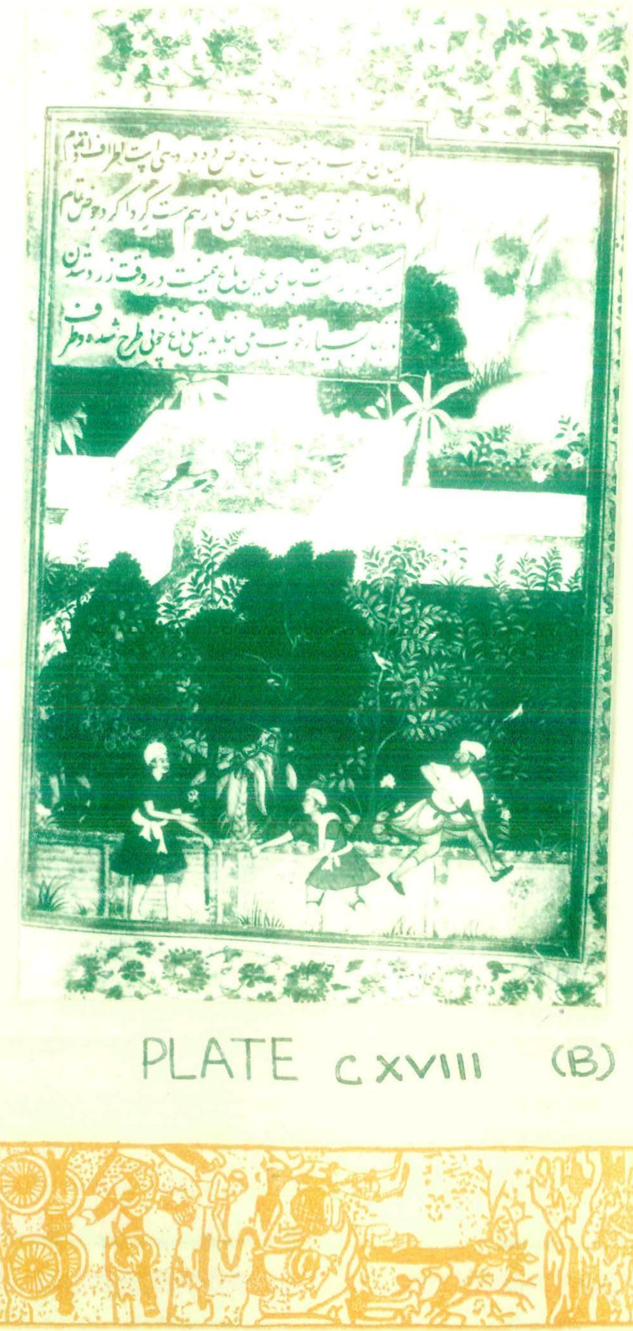


PLATE CXVIII (B)

labourers usually assist him in his work. He wears a turban, a short jama, a short trouser of full length. He wears shoes, which, for their variety among the working men, may be taken as a mark of respectability. They are shown with a karni (a flat conical iron sheet with a small handle) used for lying the adhesive - some cementing material, probably earth kneaded in water and a flat surface hammer for setting the bricks in the correct position.

Water-carrier, (plate CXIV - B).

The Tuzuk[22] (Delhi) represents him half-naked like the boatmen. Here he is assisting a mason by pouring in the stock of earth to be prepared for laying on the bricks. In other instances[23] he is shown wearing a turban, a short jama with half or full sleeves, a pair of short trousers and shoes; in the accompaniment of other labourers employed in construction work of a building or a fort. The Akb. (C.B.) represents him showering the water on the ground at the occasion of Akbar's coronation at Kalanur. In the Moscow manuscript of the Tuzuk, he is pouring water on the cupped palms of a thirsty man, while on his way with his leather bag (mushk) to the royal bathroom.

Labourer, (plate CXVI, CXVII & CXIX).

The labourers are shown digging the earth with spades,[24] irrigating

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22. Tuzuk; pl. 42 (Delhi).
23. Akb; ff. 1,245(C.B.) pls. 43,45,73,82,114(V.A.); Tuzuk; pl.18 (Moscow); Tarikh; f. 58b(Patna); Razm;pls.39,86(Jaipore).
24. Akb; pls. 73,82,83 (V.A.); Tuzuk; ff. 173b, 180b,181b(B.M.).

fields,[25] throwing the seeds[26] or with the mason, doing various works[27] or unloading the goods of the traders.[28] Interestingly, the labourer is usually dressed in a turban, or a cap like that of the shepherd, a short jama, a short pair of trousers and sometimes shoes. The garments are plain. The patka is either fastened about the waist or thrown over the shoulders like a doshala. Casually, he is displayed half-naked wearing only trousers and a cap or only with langota.

The bullock-cart-driver[29] represented on plate 45 (Akb. V.A.) in the accompaniment of other labourers, engaged in carrying the building material is displayed half-naked. He worn a ringed-turban and strip of a langota only. A piece of cloth shown round the waist, could be used to cover the shoulders and the back.

Palqi-bearer, (plate CXIV - B)

Palqi-bearers[30] are invariably represented fully clad in a turban, a jama of full length, a pair of trousers of full or short in length and shoes like a up-to-date man. The waist is girdled by a patka. Their dresses may be plain or decorated. For the support they held a crtch in their hands.

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25. Tuzuk; f. 173b (B.M.); Razm; pl.118(Jaipore).
26. Tuzuk; f. 173b (B.M.).
27. Akb; f. 153 (C.B.); Akb; pls. 45,46,66,73,86(V.A.); Tarikh; f. 58b (Patna); Tuzuk; f. 181b (B.M.).
28. Tuzuk; f. 6 (B.M.); f. 4 (Delhi).
29. Razm; pl. 76 (Jaipore); Akb; pl. 45 (V.A.).
30. Akb; f. 25, 155b (C.B.); pls. 15,24,77 (V.A.); Tarikh; ff. 143b, 230a, 238a (Patna).


ندانسته قصد وی کرد و زخمی انداخت و بسبب ناتوانی کارگر نیامد خر روی بگریز نهاد روباه
از ناتوانی شیر حیران شد و زبان ملامت برگشاد با تیسی که آهستگی راه پیش میگرفتی و قابو دیده در پی

PLATE CXX

Washer-man, (plate CXX).

He is rarely depicted on plates 140 (*Razm*; Jaipore); and f. 160, *Anwar*, Varanasi). A turban, a *dhoti* of small length resembling the *langota* and a piece of long cloth similar to a *patka*, fastened loosely around the shoulders make the combination of his dress.

Traders and shopkeepers, (plate CXIX). Traders and shopkeepers are shown carrying their goods on bullocks and camels,[31] sitting in the stall[32] put up in a military camp. In the illustrations, it is not difficult to differentiate between the local trader and the foreign trader. Folio 6 of the *Tuzuk* (B.M.) represents a scene from a town called Kand Badam (situated about 5 or 6 Farsang east of Khujand) which was famous, according to Babur for its fine almonds (*badam*). The local traders are distinguished by their long, loose robes, massive turbans and long beards. The Indian merchants who have evidently arrived with their animals of burden (bullocks) to purchase almonds are painted with the usual *jamas* and *patkas*. One of them bears a *dhoti* instead of *payajama*. None of them shown sporting a beard. Another painting representing the same scene occurs in the *Tuzuk* (Delhi) on folio 4. In brief, the dress of the Indian trader is not at all different from the usual dress of the people. It is

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31. *Tuzuk*; f. 205 (Delhi).

32. *Akb*; pl. 45 (V.A.).



PLATE CXIV (C)

shown simple, without any ornamentation, though we might assume that ornamental work on the jama would not have been uncommon among wealthy merchants.

Musicians and dancers, (plate CXIV - C).

The musicians and dancers represented in the paintings are those[33] that belong to the court. They are not necessarily representative of the public performs and their costumes and dress may or may not be taken as typical of this class of people. They are depicted in groups. The male artists wear turbans, long jamas with full sleeves, trousers of full length, the patka, casually a doshala and shoes. The turban and patka are sometimes decorated.

The instruments belonging to the group of dancers included the rebeck (rubab, a stringed instrument resembling a guitar and played upon like a mandolin), a chang (open sieve-like drum drum with tinkling metallic discs on the fringe), flute and the castanets. The rhythm of the dance is given by a pair of drums called tasha, played upon with flat sticks. It is significant that the tabla, is nowhere observed. On folio 295 of the Tuzuk (B.M.) are shown two dancers, a male and a female performing a sword dance accompanied (besides the usual instruments) by a Qarna, which was used on the battle field.

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33. Diwan; ff.13, 116, 247,314(Rampur) ;Akb; f. 143b(C.B.); pls.8,21, 78,79,80(V.A.) ;Tuzuk;ff.2,295,418(B.M.)Tarikh; ff.4b,6b,20a,40b, 72a,205b,254a,284a(Patna) ;Anwar;ff.5[m],208(Varanasi) ;Razm;pls.12, 72,118,121,125(Jaipore).



PLATE CXIX

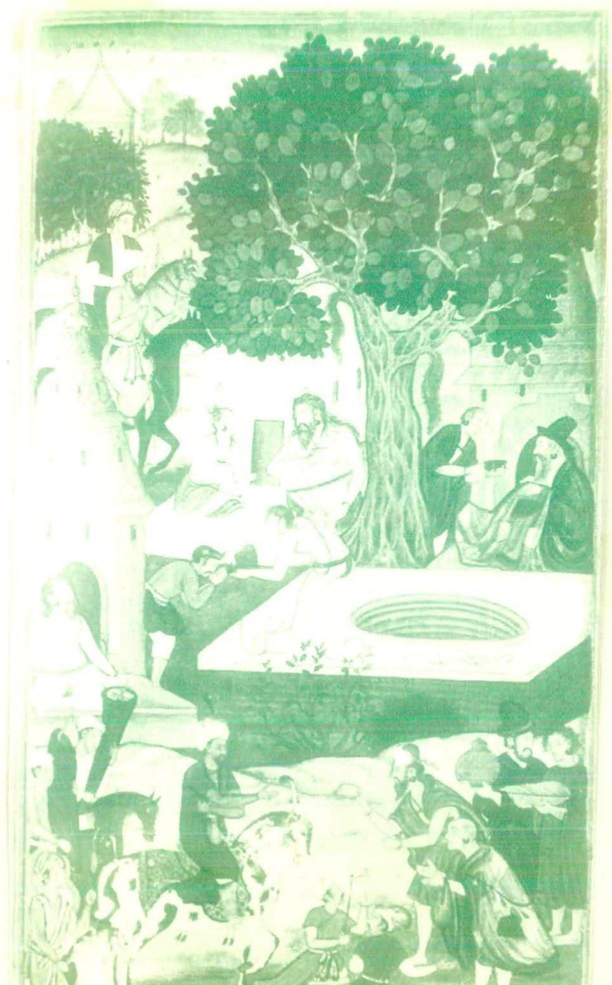


PLATE CXVIII (A)

Saints, (plate CXVIII).

The *Tuzuk*[34] contains the illustrations of a holy place of *jogis* and Hindus and a shrine situated in the surrounding of Delhi.[35] The former place, in a certain town called (according to the *Baburnama*[36]) Bigram, at some distance from Kabul represents *jogis* doing various works. Babur did not get the opportunity to visit this place, the location of which was not disclosed by his companion for the reason its being fraught with danger.[37] Babur does not give any description of that place or the dresses worn by the *jogis*. The illustration must have been composed by the artist on the basis of his observation of the monastic life of the Hindu sages of India. The drawing shows a tree, closely resembling the *Peepal* tree, which is indegenous and does not grow in Afghanistan. The dresses shown in the miniature may therefore be taken as representing those in vogue among the Hindu *jogis* of India.

They are shown clad in long *abas* with no sleeves but opening for the hands. These are loosely tied around the neck by a string and hang round the body upto the ankles. They are mostly bare-headed and wear thick rings in the ears. Some of them are shown with a strip of a *langota* tied about the waist. A couple of persons are

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34. *Tuzuk*; f. 199a (B.M.).
35. *Ibid*; f. 370b.
36. *Baburnama*, Vol. I, p. 230.
37. *Ibid*.



PLATE CXIV (E)

shown with ringed head-gears and different apparently better gowns, engaged in service. The main figure sitting right at the entrance of the mandapam in an authoritative posture appears to be the guru. He is shown only in a long, flowing dhoti.

The saints represented on folio 370b (Tuzuk; B.M.) supporting long hair and full beards appear to be sanyasis. Generally they live half-naked and worn only a strip of langota. Casually a course cloth made of cloth-patches could be used to cover the upper part of body. A figure shown sitting in the left side stiching the patches, wearing the long cap seems a Muslim saint.

The battle of jogis and sanayasis depicted in the illustrations,[38] has displayed various weapons wielded by them. These include swords samsheer, khanda and patta; tirshul- a spear with three prongs; an axe with a chisel-like head; a battle-axe called tabar and a chakra. Folio 322a (Tarikh; Patna) has shown the guru of sanyasis paying homage to Akbar who assisted by his men sanyasis against the jogis. The guru is wearing a long flowing dhoti, as already observed on folio 199a (Tuzuk; B.M.); a doshala thrown round the shoulders and a crown on the head. Generally the saints lived half-naked.

Royal-attendants, (plate C XIV-E).

They are commonly shown in the court, in expeditions, battles, courts, camps and hunting scenes. Among them the guards and attendants

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38. Akb; pls. 61, 62(V.A.); Tarikh; f. 322a (Patna).

of the court may be distinguished. The attendants performed various works as carrying the royal- insignias or helping in cooking and serving food in feasts, or driving animals to the hunting spot or managing hunting animals.

Guards and attendants who carried the sayaban or royal umbrella followed close upon the emperor whenever he moved out.[39] Guards are shown dressed in turbans or caps, short jamas, short trousers and shoes. They invariably tie patkas. Occasionally a long, flowing, cotton-muffler may be seen going from over a shoulder down about the chest in one or two rounds and with the long decorated end, carelessly hanging from a bent up arm.[40] The fashon of the jamas of the guards is peculiarly their own and seem to be prescribed. It is shorter than any worn by others, coming barely upto the middle of thigh; but the back helm of its extends longer, like a flat tail-piece covering the legs upto the middle of the shin. Generally a feather decorated the front or the side of their head-gear which may be a turban or a cap.

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39. Akb; f. 19,122b (C.B.); pls. 14,15,33,41,61,63,65,77,81,83,85, 97,99,110 (V.A.); Tuzuk; ff. 54,204,314,468,478 (B.M.); pls. 2, 8,17,65 (Moscow). Tarikh; ff. 9a,12a,14a,23b,24b,26b,32a,48b, 54a,57b,59b,67b,78a,101a,108b,178b,226a,227b,230a,246b,248a, 252a,322a, 323a(Patna); Anwar; f. 32 (Varanasi).

40. Akb; ff. 122b, 123, 147b, 157b, 188 (C.B.); pl. 84 (V.A.). Tuzuk; ff. 54,80, 199, 204, 314, 468, 478 (B.M.); Tarikh; ff. 9a, 14a, 23b, 24b, 48b, 59b, 78a, 101a, 108b, 178b, 230a, 246b, 248a (Patna).

The guards are shown mostly equipped with weapons - a mace[41] or a stick[42] or a sword[43] but frequently a battle-axe[44] and a dagger[45]. The dagger is inserted in the patka, to a side while the battle-axe is carried in hand. They do not appear without the turban or shoes or complete dress.

The dresses of the attendants are different from those of the guards. They comprise the jamas with full sleeves, full length trousers, a muffler, the patka and a turban of the common type. These may be plain or decorated. They wear shoes though sometimes they go naked feet as when walking on a carpet. Some sort of a gradation appears to be implied in the variation of these dresses, involving generally the length of the main pieces, presence of absence of a muffler etc. Though from an illustration it is difficult to mark out their repec-tive positions.

The cooks[46] represented in the feast scenes are dressed like other attendants employed in royal services. They may or may not be the representative of the cooks belonging to the commoners (plate CXIV-A).

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41. Tarikh; f. 59b (Patna).
42. Akb; ff. 123, 137b (C.B.); Tarikh; ff. 9a, 48b; 246b, 248a(Patna).
43. Tarikh; ff. 9a, 23b (Patna); Tuzuk; f. 54(B.M.).
44. Akb; f.122b (C.B.); Tuzuk; ff. 54,80,199,204,314,468,478 (B.M.); Tarikh; ff. 9a, 14a,23b,24b,59b,78a,108b,178b,230a(Patna).
45. Akb; pl. 84 (V.A.). Tarikh; f. 230a(Patna); Tuzuk; f. 314 (B.M.).
46. Akb; f. 6b (C.B.); Tarikh; f. 118a (Patna); Tuzuk; ff. 253, 257 (B.M.).

The attendants bearing the royal - insignias in the battle field are clad in armour like the soldiers.[47] They wear helmets, zirahs and leg-guards. Often they ride horses which are also provided with armour.

Drum-beaters and pipers wear no special dress, though their colour may have been specially prescribed. While in the battle field they are provided with half or full armours.[48]

Elephant drivers could be represented half-naked[49] like a boatman or sometimes fully clad[50] in short jama, short trouser and a turban. Patka is also used by them. They wielded spears etc. While in the battle-field they are also provided with half or full armours[51] and their animals are fully or partly clad in armour. The drum beaters etc. are generally shown at a distance from the main battle field.

The stable-servants[52] are rarely represented. In a camp-scene[53] they are

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47. Akb;f.10b,187b,188(C.B.);pls.10,12,31,35,63,65,97,99,100,108, 116(V.A.);Tuzuk; ff. 94,128,137,194,468(B.M.);pls.12,13,30,34 (Moscow);Tarikh; ff. 10b,11b,14a,15a,23b,24b,26b,28b,32a,48b, 54a,57b,59b,63b,67b,73b,108b,147b,149b,163b,194b,202a,226a, 323a,337b(Patna).
48. Akb;f.187b(C.B.),pls.12,53,63,103,109(V.A.). Tarikh; ff.23b,24a, 26b,48b,54a,57b,67b,108b,170b,194b,202a,226a,269a,323a(Patna).
49. Akb; pls. 39 (V.A.).
50. Akb; ff.19,25,27b,32b,123,157b,248(C.B.).pls.23,24,40,41,61,62, 77,81,83,84,87,89,90,108,109,111,114(V.A.);Anwar;ff.....,218 (Varanasi);Tuzuk; f. 352(B.M.).
51. Akb; ff. 187b, 188,226b(C.B.). pls. 35,53,97,99,100(V.A.); Tarikh; ff. 110b,170b(Patna); Tuzuk; f. 453 (B.M.).
52. Tuzuk; f. 163(B.M.); Tarikh;f. 42b (Patna).
53. Tuzuk; f. 163 (B.M.).



PLATE CXIV (D)

shown giving fodder to the animals. He could wear a short jama, a payjama of short length and a turban or cap made of skin or fur similar to those of a shepherd.

Scriber and his helper

Rarely on folio 242 of the manuscript Anwar (Varanasi), a scriber dressed himself like an up-to-date man, in a jama of long length and full sleeves, a patka - decorated with floral design and a turban - flat at the top. The helper shown rubbing a paper with an agate worn a jama fastented by a patka on the waist and a turban similar to that of his master.

Females; (plate CXIV - C & D).

Whereas generally paintings by court painters of this period concentrate on the representation of men associated with the court life, the depiction of females in found rarely - much more so being the case with the ordinary, common women. All that we find in the depiction of some maid servants,[54] musicians and dancers,[55] and in one instance female relatives of soldiers.[56] Their dress are different. The dress worn by some maid servants may be taken as representative of the dress of the common women.

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54. Akb; pls.55,78,80(V.A.);Tuzuk; ff.13,256(B.M.);pl.1(Moscow); Tarikh;ff. 12a,40b,72a,241b(Patna);Razm; pls.84,89,118,119,125 (Jaipore);pl.23(Baroda);Anwar; f.100(Varanasi).
55. Akb; f. 143b (C.B.); pls.8,79(V.A.);Tarikh; ff.40b,72a,205b, 284a(Patna); Razm; pls. 12, 121 (Jaipore); Anwar; ff. 5, 208 (Varanasi).
56. Tuzuk; f. 193 (B.M.).

Women attendants

Women attendants[57] are shown inside the palaces in attendance of royal-ladies. Like the male attendants they follow the royal-ladies in the palace or camp, and perform different functions including the carrying of the royal insignia. The main pieces of their dresses were a cap or a head sheet and a peshwaz with or without a doshala. The cap is made of a special fashion pyramidal with the upper based slanting towards the backside or rounded at the top. It is often decorated with varying designs apparently, of stich work or print, and sometimes with a feather or a long piece of cloth folded length-wise (Ibid-D).

The peshwaz was made with tight, full sleeves and was of a long length. upto the ankles, rarely showing the feet. About the waist it was tightly fitting. The lower part hanged loosely like a skirt - generally made round. The skirt with tringular ends is represented rarely.[58] The representation of a upper garment with round neck-line, half sleeves, pleated in the middle to fit the waist and length upto the knee seems a variation of peshwaz.[59] The women attendants did not use the patka. Sometimes they wore a kaba (a coat with half sleeves, long length and opened in front). A long sheet of plain cloth was thrown over the shoulder like a shawl, passing on either sides of the chest, the ends supported over the hand. Sometimes it is used as a

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57. See F.N. 54.
58. Tarikh; f. 72a (Patna); Anwar; f.171 (Varanasi).
59. Tarikh; f. 72a (Patna).

cross belt. This sheet could also be used to cover the heads though casually.

Among the ornaments they wore earrings (balis), necklaces (a guluband), a cross-belt and finger rings. Some of the ornaments like those of the head, wrist and ankles are not visible in the paintings as the parts of the body on which they would be worn are shown covered by one or the other garment. A women attendant could wear more than one neckalces a time, though they would be different in designs and sizes. It is significant that the dresses of the ladies are invariably shown plain.

On folio 193 (Tuzuk, B.M.) are also shown female figures presumably related to the soldiers in a camp. These figures are not fully visible. The one in the background sitting behind the soldier on the horse back has a long covering with transverse folds and covering the head and the back, perhaps a stiched veil of which the front piece is thrown over behind. The other figure is shown wearing a fur cap. They wear rings in the nostrils, the front lobe of the nose and the ears. These were respectively called nath, bulaq, bunda and bali.

Female dancers and musicians, (plate CXIV - C).

Musicians are shown playing on a chang, a flute, a duhul, a tambura and a dundubhi[60] to the voice of a singer. The dancers and musicians

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60. See F.N. 55.

are dressed in the similar cloths those of the women attendants. Patka is also not worn by them. They wear ornaments like other ladies specially the gulubands, necklaces (even five at a time) and cross belts. Infact, ornaments were a part of the dancing costume and were worn in profusion. The ghungrus were as a necessary accompaniment.

The representation of Hindu women is common in the Razmnama miniatures.[61] These display musicians, singers, dancers, attendants etc. etc. The Moscow manuscript of the Tuzuk also displays Hindu maid servants on plate 67. Invariably, they are dressed in the cholis (blouses) and lahngas (long skirts worn in place of payjama). They covered their head and chest with a long thin cloth the like of which is now-a-days known as dupatta. Commonly one end of it is thrown over the head and the shoulders. Sometimes they appear bare headed. They wear ornaments similar to those of ther ladies and generally go bare feet. An artist has not made distinction in their dresses according their strata. A similarity persists in their dresses. A choli, a lahnga and a dupatta are the main outfits of a lady (plate CXIV-C). A variation is sought out by the presence or abscence of ornaments.

Likewise, the Hindu commoners : musicians, dancers, attendants, bullock-cart-driver etc. etc. are depicted dressed in dhoti - a common wear; casually, it is replaced by a pair of trousers - churidar payjama with short length.

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61. Razm; pls. 12,37,39,72,84,89,118, 119, 121 (Jaipore).

The lower garment of a lady dancer is different from others of her group.[62] She worn a dhoti fastened tightly, one end of which is tucked behind like a langota and the other pleated decently is left to hang loosely reaching upto the middle of thighs.

Babur speaks of the common peoples of Hindustan but scantly in a section of the chapter devoted to the "Description of Hindustan".[63] Some information of their professions, dresses and ornaments can however be gleaned in outlines from the illustrations provided during the time of Akbar. Turban or cap was commonly used by the men or ladies and was considered a necessary part of their dress. Even the people such a boatmen, fishermen, water-carriers etc. who are sometimes found half-naked, seem careful about wearing head-gears. Turban was more frequent than the cap. The cap was mostly used by labourers, women-attendants and sometimes royal-attendants. The turbans or caps of royal-attendants and female dancer are distinguished from others by Kalghi sported in the centre or on a side.

Of the garments of the common people-turban, jama, trouser and shoes were common while their fashions varied. The short jama was worn by men of the lower classes. The dresses of the saints, guards and traders are different in fashions. Peshwaz was used by ladies. Both the trousers of short or full length were commonly used while the

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62. Razm; pls. 112, 121 (Jaipore).
63. Baburnama, Vol. II; p. 519.

mason, water-carrier, cook, bird-trappers, shepherd and labourer who worked in the garden and field etc; generally wore short ones. Patka was commonly used by them. The boatmen, fishermen and labourers carried a piece of cloth like patka and used that sometimes as head gear or patka thrown over the shoulders. Patka was generally used by royal-attendants. Women attendants, lady dancers or musicians regularly used doshala. Shoes were commonly worn by men only. Though saints, boatmen, fishermen and sometimes labourers walked naked feet. Ornaments were rarely worn by men. It was however common among the ladies.

One is tempted to think that the mason, the musician, the dancer, traders, shopkeepers and a scriber were dressed better than the water-carrier, boatmen, labourer wood-cutter and the fishermen, a mark of comparative prosperity. The royal-attendants, guards, women-attendants, female-dancers and musicians had to keep themselves in a presentable condition; and so they represent a higher class of people so far as their outfits, arms and ornaments. They always appear in complete dress from head to foot.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

In view of the multifarious problems that are characteristic of research in Indian history, specially those relating to the source of material, the need of finding out newer methods for ascertaining facts can not be overemphasised. Whereas the great mass of textual and archaeological source-material available to us enables to reconstruct a plausible picture of the political and social life in Medieval India, the cultural history of the period remains largely unexplored for the want of adequate source of information. Official chronicles and other historical accounts concern with this aspect only to the extent of giving biographical notes or at the most with the fine arts, specially poetry. Princess and kings are found at times giving casual accounts in their *Memoirs* of experiences involving the activities and aspirations of common people; yet their fragmentary evidences are hardly helpful to us in the way of constructing a wholesome view.

It is indeed impossible to mark out the confines of the cultural life of a people. The material expression of a people's achievement in the field of culture may be understood. The literature, the architecture, the technology and the science of a particular period may be gauged in terms of the amount of work produced. But the character of one culture cannot be differentiated from another on that basis except in the broadest of terms. A better understanding

occurs from an intimate acquaintance of the manners and customs, the peculiarties of private and public life, attitudes and aspirations, the dresses they wear, the kind of entertainment they have, the ways and means of satisfying their aesthetic sensibilities, the forms of the articles they use and the spirit underlying their adventures and vocations. As a matter of fact it is like one living in the times oneself. It is ultimately on this experience that a correct appreciation even of the art and literature of a people in the past depends.

In the absence of textual evidences nothing can be of greater value than contemporary paintings for the purpose. More than any amount of words the visual experience acquired through this medium provides us in illustrated form the knowledge of a variety of those things that a chronicler would never even think of as worthy of report. Fortunately the Mughal period is the richest in this respect. The Mughal kings maintained a whole establishment of painters and it was under Akbar that special attention was paid and funds were made available in order to maintain a sufficiently big establishment of court painters. Jahangir and Shahjahan as also the later Mughals continued the practice and consequently we have a continuous record of their paintings. A good many of these have been lost yet those that we have, provide us with ample ground for studying the culture of the times.

In the tradition of the Persian court, painting was first patronised by the Mughals as a medium of illustrating dastans and masnavis.

Akbar's interest was to expand the sphere of the subjects chosen for illustration. Besides, the chronicles of the imperial house viz. the Akbarnama; Tuzuk-i-Baburi, Tarikh-i-alfi etc; the great books of Hindus - Ramayana; Razmnama - a translation of Mahabharta and Harivansha were taken for the illustration work. Many illustrated manuscripts: Hamzahnamah; Tutinama; Diwan of Anwari ; Diwan of Shahi; Anwar-i-suhaili; Diwan-i-Hafiz; Razmnama; Ramayana; Tarikh-i-alfi; Tuzuk-i-Baburi; Akbarnama; Darabnama; Harivansha etc. etc. have survived to this day. Some of them were repeatedly drawn. There different copies in good condition are preserved in the various art collections.

The artists of these collections were primarily concerned with the representation of themes usually selected at the behest of the patrons. Nevertheless, within the limited scope left to them, they expanded upon them while composing the objects, thus allowing for the inclusion of a number of other objects and items depending upon personal experience and imagination. For instance, common peoples could be introduced in the background or on distant corner in order to fill-up the space or enliven the scene.

The painters belonged to the court of Akbar. To what extent their creations may be accepted as being in consonance with the actual times depicted, is very difficult to determine. Infact in respect of a number of items one is faced with the imparative to ascertain whether or not the version may be accepted as authentic. Customs and practices of courts change with the frequency of royal fancies and whims. We

know from the Ain-i-Akbari for instance about the many changes introduced by Akbar in the forms and shapes of dresses and articles of use, not to speak of the novelties introduced in the mannerisms. From what is seen in the paintings the changes are not always easily discerned. Similarly, it appears that many a things must have become obsolete by the time the paintings were taken up. Obviously in such matters the painter had to depend on verbal information or on his own imagination. In these circumstances the best that can be ascertained from the doubtful. The latter may be taken as prevalent over a broader period of time. For instance, the whole collection of the Tuzuk-i-Baburi paintings can be broadly divided into two groups. The first deals with the themes relating to the emperor's life before his advent into India and the second of those relating to the four years of his rule in India. Evidently however, the artists make little difference in the composition of the respective settings. The interpretation of the Tuzuk-i-Baburi paintings are not to be taken therefore as applicable strictly to the period of Babur, though it may be so in the case of some of the self-evident facts. At any rate they may be considered relevant to the period of Akbar's reign. The relevance of these paintings with the social life in Medieval India, in general, is by no means suggested, though there are clues that help us forming a tentative view of some aspects of life outside the court. However, we have here positive evidence about the aristrocracy.

Form the point of view of art the Akbari illustrations are synthe-

sised primarily with the traditions of the Persian and the pre-Mughal Indian arts. The former reveals itself in bright colour schemes dominated by the Persian blue, crimson, orange, yellow and gold pigments; the superimposition of calligraphed blurbs; in the three quarter-representation of human face; in the modulated contours of hills depicted with springing trees, streams and animals shown perched on them; in the drawing of the objects from the bird-eye-view, disposal of a group of human figures on a very horizon line; in the profusely decorated patterns on floor, *shamiyians*, costumes and carpets comprising interlacing work; in the always changing focal point of an artist, figures imposed on one another, trees laden with flowers and in the flat treatment of colours. The latter finds expression in the dynamism and rhythm and crowded animation in the representation of human figures; in the elongated eyes, casually the second eye projecting beyond the face line; in the straight, long tree-trunk with dense foliage, in the stylised form of leaves, elephant figures and in the wavery-lines of water often shown with fish and lotus flower. Side by side with this, perceptible traces of the naturalism characteristic of the later Mughal art, begin to show up in the depiction of realistic treatment of tree-trunks and animals.

However the technique depends a great deal on standardised forms and stylised features. Their is no standard form of the emperor's face. But more or less in general treatment is similar in many cases. For instance, for the representation of Babur's face - a small, pointed

beard set in an elongated face and the kingly dress seem to have been employed as the characteristic elements of his identity. Akbar's face too, is not identical everywhere. The predominent character of these paintings draws on the accuracy of lines, the neatness of colouring and standard proportions. The representation of the female figures is everywhere standardised. One comes across of a few types being repeatedly drawn. The figure of a horse, an elephant and camel etc. are drawn according a few set lines.

Notwithstanding some of the finer differences distinguishing the early Mughal painting from those of the later period, a certain degree of uniformity persists in the technique, media and conception through out its development. The principle of maximum visibility is faithfully followed as the prime condition of perfect representation. Composition is done in the vertical plane. Distance is depicted either by breaking the part of a theme or by giving them in vertical, ascending order. Casually the distant landscapes and objects in the background are depicted to enhance the effect of depth in the illustration. There is no single direction of light, hence no shadows. Animals, foliage of trees, female figures, hills and such human figures as are not nominated are either stylised or standardised. Human bodies are generally fleshy and age is depicted through external features such as a white beard, a bending waist, a staff in the hand. The principle of forshortening is not fully understood. Action is symbolised by gestures of the hands or the head. Emphasis is laid on the brilliancy of colours. Orange,

crimson red, vermilion red, green, yellow, Persian blue, purple and gold are the main pigments. Gold dust is lavishly used and as far as possible. The scene is decorated by architectural designs, ground sprigged with flowery plants, ornamentation of the ensigns, arms and armour, costumes and finally the hashyia. Generally the hashyias are left plain. Blank spaces are not favoured, but are filled by various objects such as plants, animals, birds, tanks and the like, even though irrelevant. Sometimes the dimensions of the object are reduced to such a degree to adjust the blank space that the figure goes out of proportions. Figures are shown cut on the margins most probably, it was done so deliberately to suggest the continuity in the scene.

By the Akbar's time the Mughal art had started showing the influence of the European art, the most significant of which was the introduction of European perspective. The artists employed distant views, diminution of scale with the increase of distance, colours and details blurred at far distance to enliven the scene. Deep shading was casually accepted to produce the three-dimensional effect and to achieve the aerial perspective sky was given an important place. The floating clouds and varying shades could be introduced in its representation. But the traces of these remain few and far in between. Background consisting - castles, cities in digonal perspective, massed clumps of trees, open-field, river with boats, hunting scene etc. etc; got the elements of the European perspective without always being correctly followed. The general method remains more are less con-

ventional where uniformity of scale is allowed to persist irrespective of distance.

The features of Chinese art are not wanting in the Akbari illustrations. The dragon and some of the motifs with elongated flame like ends and over and above the practice of combining calligraphy with pictorial art similarly point to the Chinese Qalam.

From the point of view of material culture the paintings make a fine source of information. The sartorial habits of the gentry manifest good taste, discreteness and variety. The trend was in favour of covering the maximum part of body. They wore shirts, coats, trousers, caps and turbans. Clothes worn in the winter season differed in material and in the addition of cotton wool padding rather than in fashion. As a matter of fact there is observed a great uniformity in the fashions of all classes of people from the aristrocracy to the peasant. Economic and social status was reflected in the quality, sizes and in the absence or presence or in the degree of external embellishment of clothes. Thus if one sought to distinguish the status of a person from his clothes, noblemen and other well-to-do people would be found dressed in clothes of superfine quality embroidered or brocaded; the coat would be long, well plaited and in winter well stuffed with cotton. They would have finally made up turbans plain or embellished with embroidery or ornaments. Among the people at the bottom of the society the coat would seem to lose its long helm, shrinking upto a point above the knees. In some instances a

single piece would go in place of the coat and shirt, resembling a jacket or a waist-coat from the neck upto the waist. The trouser would rise above the ankles even as far as to suffice for a covering for the knee. The plaits disappear. The finally bordered, flowing Katzeb would be replaced by a short plain piece of cloth tied around the waist. The turban would lose its fine folds and ornamentation. The modest, simple cap would become much less frequent. In place of a costly shawl a coarse sheet would seem to be used for a variety of purposes. In general the difference displays itself in the fact that as against the superfine quality of cloth these people dressed themselves in coarse cloth. Royal attendants - guards had special uniforms. This included a tail-coat, a shirt, short trousers, turban or a cap and in some cases socks and shoes. Their caps or turbans were decorated with a long Kalghi or a bird's feather easily discernable from others.

As a matter of rule women wore long flowing dresses. Native women however dressed generally in three pieces including a long plaited petticoat, a choli or a blouse leaving the waist and neck bare and a head sheet. The Peshwaz with round skirt was the common wear of the ladies of court. However the peshwaz with four triangular ends in the bottom was finding out its way among the maid attendants. They sported generally oblong caps with slaunted tops of a rich variety and of different forms. The dupatta - head sheet which seems to have been purely Indian dress, seems to have been adopted by the Mughals in a casual manner. The fashion of wearing a head-sheet as

a head-gear is evident from a few illustrations. Shawls or another long sheet of cloth could be thrown on the head and wrapped around the body. In this respect it could be identical in function or form with dupatta. It is notable that the costumes of ladies are invariably plain. Ornaments were in vogue and worn in profusion to embellish from head to feet. Ornamentation was common among the ladies belonging to different strata. The guluband, necklaces, ear-rings, ornamented cross-belt were the common ornaments worn usually. Many of the ornaments worn by them does not appear as the parts on which these are worn, are covered by one or the other cloth. The dancers wore them in profusion as a matter of course.

The soldiers were generally well provided with armour which included the maximum number of pieces that could be put on without incuring obstruction in the movements. There were the helmets, zirih, bagtar, chest and back plates, arm-guards, knee-guards, leg-guards and foot-wears. The helmets could be made with or without hanging mails. Casually, a forehead plate and a visor or nose-guard could also be attached with it. Leg-guards are made in a variety of length. The zirih, bagtar, dastanwa and leg-guards are common armours of a Mughal soldier. Rarely, an arm-plate could be worn in addition to the dastanwa. It is a moulded plate so as to fit the exposed part of the arm.

The animals too, employed in the battle were fully equipped with armours. Cavalry was the main force of the Mughals. The elephants

were casually employed. A horse-armour consisted of Qashqah; gardani - neck plate; chest-guard and urtuk - armour of body made of small chians and plates hinged together. Gardani was a neck armour made separately in two pieces or moulded in one piece fitting to the shape of animal's neck. The chest-guard, one piece armour is rarely used. The pakhar appear the main armour of an elephant. Its body armour is not different in make to that of horse.

The sword, lance, bow and arrow and mace are the conventional arms wielded by Mughals. The chief weapon of a soldier was the sword-shamsheer or a dhup; but he was almost invariably equipped with bow and arrows which came next in importance to the former. In the midst of frays while wielding a sword their quivers are shown full of arrows and we would not be far-wrong to believe that this weapon was reserved for use at the time of pursuing the enemy on flight, though it is well understandable that during sieges and other occasions such as when instead of the plains, hills were the battle ground or even at the eve of an head on attack the bow and arrow must have been most efficacious weapon. The takash kaman, a small slur-bow; shaped in single or or double curve was frequently used. The Mughals had quiver (tarkash) and bow-case (girban) to hold the arrows and bow respectively. These were invariably hanged on the waist in a side. Thirdly comes the spear. The mace was casually wielded in the close combat or employed to break the fortified-gates. The Kistin was much favoured during the close combat.

Nobles generally sported the Khanjar or jamdhar and rarely a quillon-dagger-Katar. The battle-axe, commonly tabar is much frequently wielded by royal-attendants (guards).

Apart from the conventional arms, cannons of different types are shown to have been used by the Mughal army. In the scene of war and hunt, casually soldiers are shown carrying hand-guns resembling the matchlock. The artillery included both cannon and handguns. The word tufang or banduqiah commonly used in Persian language have been translated by Beveridge as matchlock which indeed may not be taken as the specification of the weapon's working mechanism. The representation of the matchlocks in the illustrations is not clear enough to provide clues with regard to their mechanism. At any rate this weapon was still in its primitive stage. It was long, difficult to wield and time consuming; fitted on a one-piece wodden rest and had no folding device in the middle. Akbar made a great contribution towards the manufactures of matchlocks. By the first quarter of the sixteenth century the musket and the wheel lock had already been developed and were replacing the conventional arsenal. The handguns (narnals) were provided with pivoted cock, priming-pan, ramrod and pargaz - into which the ramrod was put. Though many of the handguns worked like the original matchlock without a trigger. Barrels are long gradually tappering towards the end opening like a funnel.

Cannons represented in the scenes of a siege or casually in a battle field rested on two or four wheels depending on its size and weight.

Lstly the gun- jazail resting on a tripod is shown employed in the siege. This is a long barrelled gun. Babur tells us that the matchlockmen took part in the battles of Khanwa and Panipat. He has also described the method of manufacturing a gun. Among his materialogical technicians specially Ali Quli Khan has developed reliable process of casting the gun. The barrel was cast in mould. Under Akbar newer methods were introduced which included the manufacturing of a barrel by boring solid iron bars, by rolling obliquely to a flat, long iron-sheet or moulding the nozzles. The last process was greatly improved and the nozzles were moulded into parts and these could be taken separately during expeditions and assembled together when required. If colouring can be of any use it may be said that cannons were made both of iron and brass.

The rubab and chang are the main musical instruments played for entertainment in the accompaniment of the male or female or the both dancers. The female dancers invariably wielded castanets in their palms. Sometimes the music forms an essential part to accomplish a royal ceremony i.e. birth of a prince, a feast etc. In the large gathering the flute - vertical, the duhul and naqqara - small kettle drums also find their place. The musical instruments of the native land viz. the Veena, tambura and Kamancha were introduced in the Mughal court. The former two could become much popular and were played both by men or women - musicians in the accompaniment of other instruments.

The musical parties shown in the miniatures may be taken the repre-

sentation of the court musicians and dancers. A whole establishment of musicians was attached to the court, in which the naqqarkhana occupied a prominent place. It gave its performance on important occasions, though was commonly employed to announce the daily routine. It was an discernable part of military camp- paraphernalia. The naqqarkhana was accomplished with Kettle-drums of varying sizes, pipes of different kinds viz. the surna, qarna, seeng and nafir and cymbals etc. It was considered as an ensign of royality.

The other insignias included mainly the awrang, sayaban, chhattra and kawkaba. The alms displaying innumerable types of heads included the forms of utensils, lizard, dragon, elephant head and human face etc. etc. The heads of wild-goats, stags, tiger, horse, sheep and a dragon employed in the ornamentation of thrones and boats etc. are not merely decoration and have emblematic significance. The Mughals added the emblems of sovereignity which included a sun, a round disk, globes, head of dragon, animal's head and spear-head etc. The shades viz. scarlet, orange, green, crimson used in the cloth of standards and flags too, are of emblematic significance.

Hunting was considred a royal game. The tigers and deers were the main animals of hunt. For the hunt of deers kamargha was made and the emperor hunted them in the circle by the sword. The arrow was effective when the animals were chased in the jungle. The sword and arrow were the main weapons of hunt though casually a gun was also employed. Akbar wielded a sword frequently to hunt the tigers and

deers, Casually, when he serched the animals on foot, wielded a gun. Besides the hunting, he was equally interested in catching the tigers and wild-elephants. He also introduced some methods of trapping these animals. The animal-fight too, was a source of amusement for which the elephants, deers and rams were employed. It seems that the combat of elephants was only the previlege of an emperor.

The day today routine is characterised by various kinds of formalities while ornamentation is practiced as a matter of course. Whether it is the clothes of the royality or of their aristrocracy, or whether it is a plain gathering of men and women; whether it is the landscape or a palace, the taste of decoration seems to underlie the compositions. However the fondness for ornamental representation of life too displays a sense of proportion. Perhaps it is the carpet and the architectural design that lends itself easily to exaggerated embellishment yet those that are depicted in the paintings are conspicuous for a very restrained expression of the propensity for decore. The patterns of the carpets are complicated though discrete in design, generally done in monotones and regular small running motifs. Wall and floors are done in simple geometrical patterns. In the garments too the decorational element does not seem to obtrude on the plain alliance of the wearables. The crown of the emperor is bedecked with jewels but rarely.

For one thing some of the essential gadgets are very clearly depicted

The crude form of the Persian-wheel with its crown and drum elements is represented rather faithfully. Among the agricultural tools we find the spade, the plough and the shovel. An improvement in the water-work is inferred from the frequent use of large fountains in the gardens and palaces. The stirrup appears to have become common; so does the horse-shoe. The harness very much resembles the improved type observed in the sixteenth century Europe. An efficient system of water transport is also apparent from the miniatures. There are several types of boats including double deckers. However these are a part of the royal establishment and used only for crossing rivers etc. They are generally simple in construction. Some of them are shown with masts and sails. Boats employed for varying purposes - journey or naval engagement etc; are differently shaped. For ladies boats were made with closed compartments. The boats used for loading or unloading the camp-material and the animals of the army etc. are simple in shape comprising a long-leaf. Boats were also employed for building a bridge on a river. These were specially made for the work and resembled in shape with the punt of today.

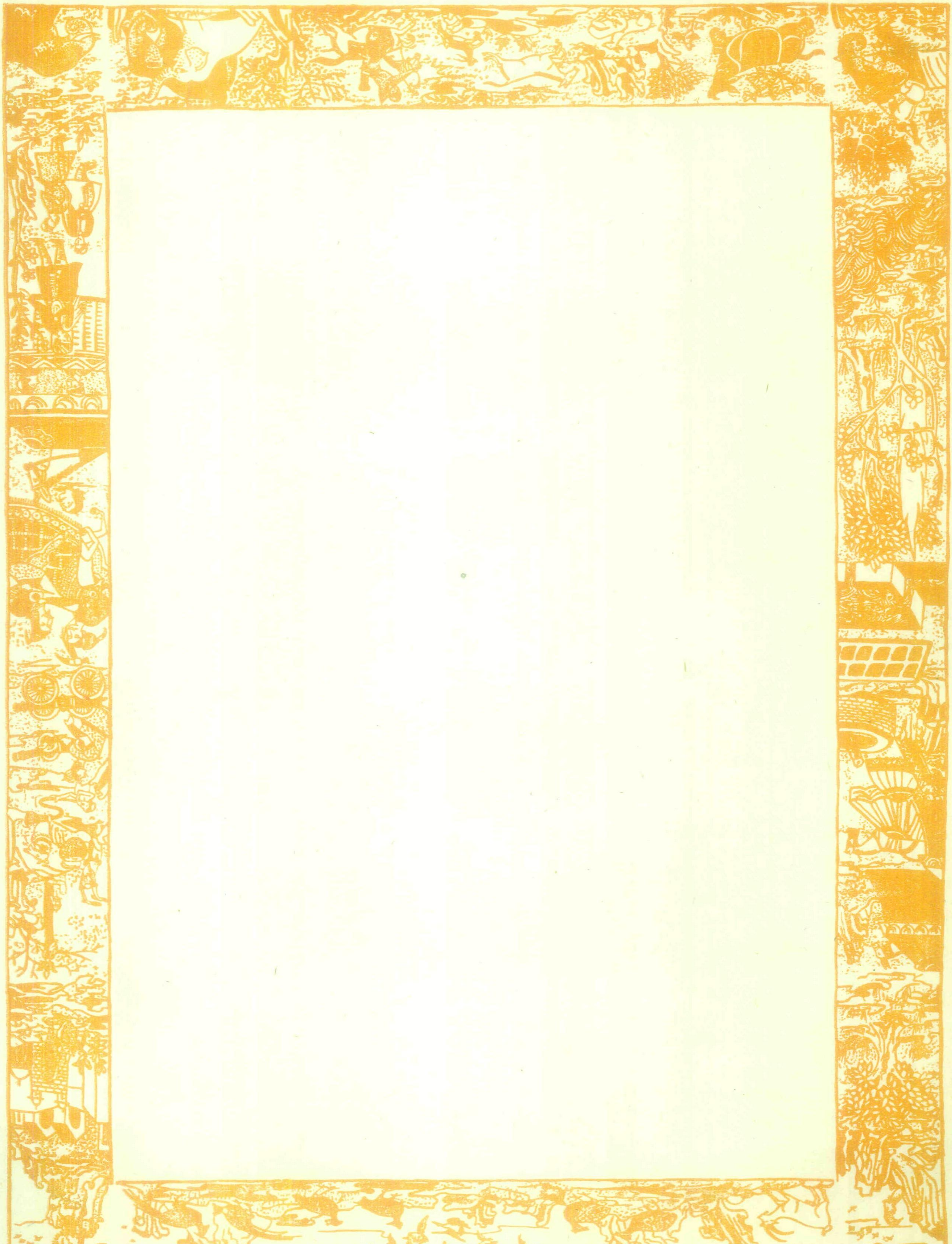
For the road-journey peoples travelled in litters carried by two or four men. Litters were made with or without curtains. The royal ladies generally travelled in the imaris - carried by an elephant on its back or in the mihaffa - carried by two camels. The traders had camels and ox etc. to transport the goods. The camels and mules were maintained in the royal stable to carry the camp-paraphernalia etc. The camel was greatly favoured and was also

employed by the insignia holders and the musicians of the *naqqarkhana* who performed on *damama*,*naqqare*, *surna*, *qarna*, *seeng* and *sanj* etc. on the battle-field. The elephant was rarely employed by them.

Various utensils used in the kitchen for cooking and serving the preparations and for feast etc. included the *degchi*, *Qab*, large platters, *payalas* and a rich variety of bottles viz. *surahis* and *minas* and other wine-containers. The utensils used for decoration were the flower-pots, candle-sticks and stands for perfume-pots etc. Grace, decorativeness and symmetry are the chief characteristics of the Mughal utensils. The stylised and geometric decoration has been employed without an interruption in their form. These were made of copper, bronze, gold and silver, the latter ones often studded with precious stones.

There are many more items which can be studied in greater detail with the help of written sources as it is the miniatures of the illuminated manuscripts along with other collections provide us with a valuable source for the study of Mughal culture. Such studies are however confined only to the life in the court. The great part of the story remains largely unrelated. It is the lives of the people in general that requires the attention of scholars. In the absence of directly relevant sources the historian can however rely on the pictorial representations of the numerous themes choosen privately or by order of patrons by artists from time to time. Such a mass of material will include albums prepared in the courts,

portraitures, independant paintings by the artist and, no less important, the illustrations of fictional texts - a task that is very difficult indeed, none the less necessary.



A P P E N D I C E S

1. List of the illustrated MSS. of Akbar's reign.

2. Illustrations of the Akbarnama (V.A. & C.B.).

3. Anwar-i-Suhaili (Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi).

4. Diwan-i-Hafiz (Rampur State Library).

5. Razmnama (Jaipore City Palace Museum and Baroda State Museum).

6. Tarikh-i-Khandan-i-Timuriya (Khuda Baksh Oriental Public Library, Patna).

7. Tuzuk-i-Baburi (British Museum; Moscow and National Museum, Delhi).

8. List of the similar themes of the Tuzuk-i-Baburi.

9. List of the painters of Akbar's court with the reference of their principle works.

10. List of Collections of Indian pictures.

APPENDIX NO. 1

LIST OF THE ILLUSTRATED - AKBARI-MANUSCRIPTS

Title of the MS.

1. *Akbarnama* by Abul Fazl : Victoria and Albert Museum, London (J.M. 1896); Mutilated towards the end; Autograph note by the emperor Jahangir; 117 miniatures. (1604 A.D.)
   Format: 14 x 9 inches.
   (For detail see appendix no. 2).

2. *Akbarnama* : British Museum, London (OR. 12988). (1604 A.D.)

3. *Akbarnama* : Sir Chester Baetty Collection, Dublin, 61 plates.
   Format: 43 x 26 cm.
   (For detail see appendix no. 2).

4. *Anwar-i-Suhaili* : School of Oriental and African Studies, London; 24 miniatures. (1570 A.D.)
   Format: 33.3 x 22.2 cm)

5. *Anwar-i-Suhaili* : Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras(India); 26 miniatures. (1596-97 A.D.)
   Format: 11.8 x 7.5 inches.
   (For detail see appendix no. 3).

6. Anwar-i-Suhaili : British Museum, London (Add. 18579); 36 miniatures.
Format : 9¼" x 5 7/8 inches.
(For detail see appendix no. 3).

7. Ayar-e-Danish : (Translation of Panchtantra by Abul Fazl, completed in July 1588): Sir Gowasji Jehangir, Bombay; and Sir Chester Beatty Collection, Dublin; 146 miniatures (1606 A.D.)
Format: 19.6 x 12.8 cm

8. Ayar-e-Danish : India Office Library, London.(No. 1403)

9. Ajayabul-Makhlooat : by Zakaria bin-Muhammad (1203-83): Sir Chester Beatty Collection, Dublin; 16 miniatures. (1600 A.D.)
Format : 26.5 x 15.6 cm)

10. Baburnama : National Museum of India, New Delhi (India); 145 illustrated folios Remargined. (1599 A.D.)
Format: 10.2 x 7 inches.
(See appendix no. 7)

11. Baburnama : British Museum, London (OR.3714); 116 illustrated folios; illuminated borders.
Format : 25.5 x 33 cms.
(See appendix no. 7)

20. Diwan-i-Amir Khusarau Dehlvi: Metropolitan Museum of Art, America; Walters Art Gallery, America and Cincinnati Art Museum, America. (1597-98 A.D.)
Format : 25 x 15.8 cm.

21. Diwan-e-Amir Nijamuddin Dehlavi: Walter's Art Gallery, America; Scribe-Abdulla Mushkin Kalam (Musk Pen); copied at Allahabad. (1602-3 A.D.)
Format : 26 x 19 cm.

22. Diwan-e-Anwari : Fog Art Museum Cambridge (MASS) U.S.A.; copied at Lahore. (1588 A.D.)
Format : 15 x 7 cm.

23. Diwan-e-Hafiz : Raza Library, Rampur, Uttar Pradesh (India); 11 miniatures. (1598 A.D.) Remargined.
Format : 10.4 by 7.6 inches.
(See appendix no. 4)

24. Diwan of Shahi : Private collection (Circa 1595) Two miniatures are published in the book- '<u>The Art of Mughal - India</u>', by S.C. Welch. (1963)

25. Diwan-e-Jami : Mme. de Behague, France. (Illustrated by Hussain Naqqash)

26. <u>Diwan-e-Shahi</u>	:	Private collector in America. (1590 A.D.)
27. <u>Gulistan</u>	:	British Museum, London (OR. 5302); 13 miniatures. (1567 A.D.) Format : 13 x 3½ inches.
28. <u>Gulistan</u>	:	Royal Asiatic Society, London (No.258); Scribe-Mohammad Hussain-al-Kashmiri <u>Zarrin Qalam</u>; One miniature illustrated by Manohar artist. (1581 A.D.) composed at Fetehpur Sikri Format : 32.3 x 21 cm.
29. <u>Hamzahnama</u>	:	Victoria and Albert Museum, London. 25 illustrated folios. (No. 1513-1883 I.S.) 22 x 28¼ inches.
30. <u>Hamzahnama</u>	:	Industrial Museum, Vienna; 60 illustrated page. 22 x 28¼ inches.
31. <u>Hamzahnama</u>	:	Sir Chester Beatty Collection, Dublin; 2 miniatures.
32. <u>Harivamsa</u>	:	State Museum, Lucknow U.P., (India).
33. <u>Harivamsa</u>	:	The Metropolitan Museum of Art; a disperssed copy. (1590-95) Format : 29.0 by 20.0 cm.
34. <u>Katha- Sarisagar</u>	:	Ardeshir Collection, Poona (India);

19 miniatures.

(1580 A.D.)

35. Khamsa by — Amir Khosrau Dihlavi: Walters Art Gallery. 21 miniatures.1597-98 A.D.) Format : 28.5 by 19.0 cm. (Several illustrations of this copy belong to Metropolitan Museum of Art and 8 miniatures in Cincinnati Art Museum. (1957/98 A.D.)

36. Khamsab : Mr. Dyson Perrins Malvern Collection, England.

37. Khamsa-e-Nizami : British Museum, London (OR. 12208); Scribe Abdur Rahim al-Haravi; 38 miniatures. (1595 A.D.) Format : 12 x 7½ inches.

38. Khamsa-e-Nizami : Archaeological Museum, Tehran (Iran), 2 miniatures. (1599 A.D.) Format : 16 x 11 cm.

39. Khamsa-e-Nizami : Ardeshir Collection, Poona (India); 35 miniatures; written in Persia in Nastaliq hand writing; illustrated for Akbar a hundred years later by 15 Court artist of Akbar.(1600 A.D.) Format : 6.9 x 4 inches.

40. Khamsa-e-Nizami : British Museum, London (OR. 2265); 17 miniatures. Format : $14\frac{1}{2}$ x 10 inches.

41. Laila-e-Majnun by Nizami: Indian Office Library, London (No.384); scribe- Mohammad Baqar Ali Ibne Mulla Mir Ali; 5 miniatures. (1557 A.D.) Probably illustrated upto 1604. Format : 11 x 6.9 inches.

42. Nafhat-ul-uns by Jami : British Museum, London; 17 miniatures. (1602-3 A.D.) Format : $10\frac{1}{2}$ x 6 inches.

43. Raj Kumar : Sir Chester Beatty Collection, Dublin; 31 miniatures, composed at Allahabad. (1604 A.D.) Format : $6\frac{1}{2}$ x 11 1/8 inches.

44. Ramayana : The City Museum, Jaipore (India); 176 miniatures. (1590 A.D.) Format : 16 x 11 inches.

45. Ramayana : Washington; (America)

46. Razmnama : The City Palace Museum, Jaipore(India), 169 miniatures. (1587 A.D.) Format : 16 x 10 inches (For detail see appendix no. 5)

47. Razmnama : British Museum, London
Three Volumes; 136 miniatures.

48. Razmnama : Baroda State Museum, (Gujrat)
36 illustrated folios. (dated 1007 A.H. = 1598 A.D.)
(For detail see appendix no. 5)

49. Shahnama by Firdausi: Munich State Library (Germany).
Format : 25.5 x 16.5 cm)

50. Tarikh-i-Alfi : Ajit Ghosh Collection, Calcutta (India);

51. Tarikh-i-Khandan-i-Timuriya: Khuda Baksh Oriental Public Library, Patna (India); autograph note by Shahjahan; 130 miniatures. (1586 A.D.)
(For detail see appendix no. 6)

52. Tarikh-e-Rashidi: Gulistan Library, Tehran (Iran); 98 miniatures. (1598 A.D.)
Format : 45 x 35 cm.

53. Tarikh-e-Rashidi : Pozzi Collection, France; 2 miniatures.

54. Tutinama : Cleveland Museum of Art, U.S.A.

55. Yoga-Vashistha : Sir Chester Beatty Collection, Dublin; autograph note by the Emperor Shahjahan; 41 miniatures. (1602 A.D.)
Format : 27 x 18.5 cm.

56. Zafarnama, composed by Sharaf Uddin Ali Yazadi :
British Museum, London (OR. 1052); 7 miniatures (1600 A.D.)
Format : 12 x 8 inches.

Astray Folios of Akbari MSS

1. Akbarnama : Freer Gallery, Washington.
2. Baburnama : Freer Gallery, Washington.
3. Baburnama : Fog Art Museum, Boston.
4. Hamzanamah : Brooklyn Museum (63.5 x 40.0 cm)
5. Razmnamah : Sir Gowasji Jahangir Collection, Bombay (India).
6. Razmnamah : George P.Bick Collection-Cleveland Museum of Art (No. 30965).

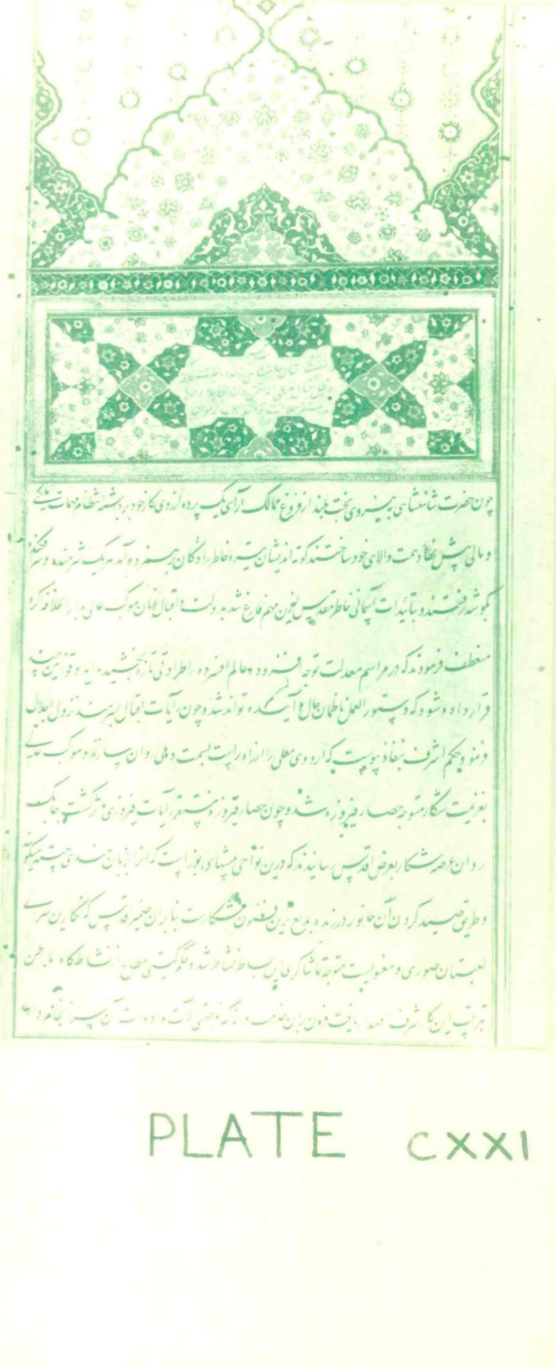


PLATE CXXI

APPENDIX NO. 2

AKBARNAMA

Only three illustrated copies of the manuscript Akbarnama by Abul Fazl, are known to exist at present in : Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington (I.S.) Calarke MSS. No. 117; London; British Museum, London (OR. 12988) and Sir Chester Beatty Collection, Dublin.

Akbarnama (CHESTER BEATTY COLLECTION) :

This volume was purchased from Quaritch in 1923. Probably this is one of the volumes carried off into Persia by Nadir Shah from the Royal Library of Delhi.[1]

The whole manuscript is rebounded and all the folios have been set within broad margins of a paper which is lighter in shade than the original sheets. The present binding was probably done by Muhammad Zaman Abbasi, whose name occurs at the bottom of the inside of the right hand corner.[2] The name of the author and the

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1. A catalogue of the Indian Miniatures, Vol. I, p. 5
2. Ibid.

place where it was composed, is not known. The colophon of the MS. is lacking. Probably it was completed upto 1602 A.D.

The size of the sheets is 43 x 26 cm. The written surface measures 24 x 13 cm. and a full-page contains 22 lines. It is written in black-ink in a clear '_Nastaliq_' handwriting on a light brown-tone; well-polished and processed paper.

Present copy contains 268 folios including 61 miniatures.[3] Themes are executed generally on the whole page- a few have a line or two of text above and below. 14 illustrations are on double page.[4] Paintings display 20 names of artists. In a few paintings signature of the artists are cut on the margin.[5] Only two paintings bear more than one name of artists.[6]

The illustrations and text is closed with several bands of lines, drawn in red, green, blue and gold pigments.

List of the paintings of the Ms. _Akbarnama_ (Chester Beatty Collection)

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3. Thirty miniatures are published. See _Ibid_, Vol. II.

4. Folios 6b-7; 32b-33; 53b-54; 122b-123; 147b-148; 152b-153; 157b-158; 162b-163; 168-169; 1766-177; 187-188; 226-227; 247b-248; 255-256.

5. Folios - 143b and 203.

6. Folios - 32b and 33.

Plate I :	The coronation of Akbar 14th February 1556; painted by Madhu. Folio 1, (18 x 13 cm)
Plate IIa :	Folio 6b, painted by Lal.
Plate IIIb:	Folio 7, painted by Lal. (A double-page illustration)- The arrest of Shah Abdul Maali; on suspicion of disloyality; at a feast given by Akbar on the third day after his accession. (24 x 12.5 cm)
Plate IV :	Folio 10b, painted by Shankar. (19 x 12.5 cm)
Plate V :	Folio 11, painted by Shankar. (A double-page illustration) - Munim Khan, the Governor of Kabul, besieged in that.
Plate VI :	The capture of Hemu, who disputed Akbar's claim to the throne of Delhi, and the defeat of his army in the battle of Panipat, 5th November 1556. Folio 18, painted by Shankar. (23 x 12.3 cm)
Plate VII:	Hemu is brought bound before Akbar and Bayram Khan, Akbar's guardian, bids the young prince slay his defeated rival. Folio 19, painted by Pidarath. (22.6 x 12.4 cm)
Plate VIII:	The treaturous attempt made by Bahadur Khan to take the possession of Qandhar, which Akbar had left in charge of Shah Muhammad. Folio 23b, painted by Ahmad. (25 x 13 cm)

Plate IX : Akbar receiving her mother Hamidah Banu on her arrival in India.
Folio 25, painted by Dhanraj. (24.5 x 12.8 cm)

Plate X : The keys of the fort of Mankot being surrendered to Akbar in May, 1557.
Folio 27b, painted by Lal (another hand has written in the right hand of picture-Kishan Das). (25 x 13.5 cm)

Plate XI : Folio 32b, painted by Farrukh, faces by Manohar and Anant. (21.5 x 12.5 cm)

Plate XII : Folio 33, painted by Farrukh, faces by Mukund. (A double-page illustration)- A raging elephant named Lakhna, trying to throw emperor Akbar when his foot had become caught in the rope round the elephant's neck; the spectators flee in terror.
(24 x 12.8 cm)

Plate XIII : Akbar receiving his younger brother, Mirza Muhammad Hakim, and decorating him with a robe of honour, after his defeat to Bayram Khan in 1560 (other manuscripts of Akbarnama ascribe this victory to Shams-al-din Muhammad Khan Atgah Akbar's foster-father)

Folio 49b, painted by Govardhan.(24 x 12.8 cm)

Plate XIV : Akbar catching a cheetah in a pit, dug according to a special plan of his own, while on his march from the Punjab to Delhi in 1560. Folio 52, painted by Dawlat.(19-19.8 x 12 cm)

Plate XV : Folio 53b, painted by Surdas. (23.5 x 12 cm)

Plate XVI : Folio 54, painted by Surdas.(22.5 x 12.2 cm) (A double-page illustration) - The reception of Akbar of the ambassadors sent by Mirza Sulaman of Badakhshan at the banquet given by Munim Khan; in celebration of the submission of Bayram Khan in January 1561.

Plate XVII : Courtiers waiting outside the palace to hear news of Akbar's health, when early in 1561 he was suffering from chiken-pox. Folio 57, painted by Manohar.(23.8 x12.3 cm)

Plate XVIII : The assult of the city of Sarangpur, and the capture of some women of Baz Bahadur, Sultan of Malwa; the funeral pyre of others of his women, who had been put to death by his orders before the fall of the city, is visible in the background.

Folio 59, painted by Lal. (24 x 12 cm)

Plate XIX : Rupmati, the favourite of Baz Bahadur, endeavouring to escape from Sarangpur, on hearing the defeat of her lover, the Sultan, when she realized that her capture was imminent she took poison and died rather than fall into the hands of Akbar's troops. Folio 60, painted by Lal. (22.5 x 12.5 cm)

Plate XX : The army of Akbar advancing to the attack on the village of Paroukh, in which a band of brigands have established themselves. Folio 71b, painted by Sanwlah.(19.5 x12.3 cm)

Plate XXI : Akbar, on his elephant Dilshankar, making an assult on the village of Paronkh. Jujhar Khan was riding behind the emperor on the elephant, when a boy of 15 terrified, jumped from the top of a roof on the back of the elephant. Jujhar Khan was about to kill him, when Akbar bade him spare the boy's life.

Folio 72, painted by Lal.(24 x 13 cm)

Plate XXII : The conquest of the country of the Raja of Pannah by Khwajah Addal Majid Asaf Khan,

one of Akbar's general.

Folio 78b, painted by Lal.(23 x 12.2 cm)

Plate XXIII : The Rajah of Pannah, fleeing from Asaf Khan, takes refuge in the fortress of Bandhu.

Folio 79b, painted by Lal. (23.3 x 12.2 cm)

Plate XXIV : Defeat of the army of Gakhars and capture of their chieftans, Sultan Adam, by the Imperial forces under the command of Kamal Khan.

Folio 84, painted by Surdas.(23.3 x 12.5 cm)

Plate XXV : Folio 122b, painted by Sanwlah.(23 x13.6 cm)

Plate XXVI : Folio 123, painted by Dharam Das.(21.8 x 12.5 cm) (A double page illustration)- Akbar giving thanks for the defeat of the rebel- Ali Quli Uzbeg - whose head is seen lying at his feet; the officers of the rebel army are being brought before him as prisioners.

Plate XXVII : Akbar at the siege of Chittore, in 1568. A shot from his gun killed Jaimal, the governor of the fort and on the following day it was taken by assult.

Plate XXXIII : Folio 152b, painted by Balchand. (24.2 x 14 cm).

Plate XXXIV : Folio 153, painted by Balchand (24 x 12.5 cm) (A double-page illustration) - The building of the city of Fatehpur Sikri which was Akbar's capital from 1571 to 1585.

Plate XXXV : Akbar hunting with cheetals while his army was encamped at Sangamir on his way to the conquest of Gujrat in 1572. Folio 155b, painted by Mukund. (19.5 x 13.3 cm).

Plate XXXVI : Folio 157b, painted by Surdas. (23.7 x 13 cm).

Plate XXXVII : Folio 158, painted by Surdas (24.2 x 13 cm) (A double-page illustration)- Akbar during his compaign in Gujrat, receiving the homage of Himaet Khan and other nobles of that country.

Plate XXXVIII : Folio 162b, painted by Surdas. (23.8 x 13 cm)

Plate	XXXIX :	Folio 163, painted by Surdas;(24 x 13 cm) (A double-page illustration)- Akbar during his compaign in Gujrat pursuing the defeated army of Ibrahim Hussain Mirza across country covered with thorn bushes. Akbar has made his horse jumps over the thorn bushes.
Plate	XL :	Folio 168b, painted by Dawlat.(24 x 13 cm)
Plate	XLi :	Folio 169, painted by Dawlat. (24 x 13 cm) (A double-page illustration) - An incident that occurred at a select drinking party, when the conversation turned up upon the bravery of Rajputs.
Plate	XLii :	Folio 176b, painted by Goverdhan.(24x13.5 cm)
Plate	XLiii :	Folio 177, painted by Goverdhan (24 x 13.5cm) (A double-page illustration) - Abul Fazl presenting the II volume of <u>Akbarnama</u> to Akbar.
Plate	XLiv :	Folio 187b, painted by Surdas.(21.5 x12.6 cm)
Plate	XLV :	Folio 188, painted by Surdas. (23 x 12.2 cm) (Adouble-page illustration) - Defeat of the army of Muhammad Hussain Mirza near Ahemdabad in September 1573. During the battle Akbar

was wounded in the thigh by one of enemy who struck him with a sword.

Plate XLvi : Akbar granting audience to the chief officers of his army before attacking the fortress of Hajipur, on the river Ganges opposite Patna in 1574.

Folio 201, painted by Goverdhan.(23 x 13.3 cm)

Plate XLvii : Akbar making an assult on the fortress of Hajipur by river, with boats filled with armed men.

Folio 202b, painted by Mukund.(19.5 x 12.3 cm)

Plate XLviii : The taking of fortress of Hajipur.

Folio 203, Artist's name is cut on margin. (20.8 x 12.3 cm)

Plate XLix : The fight of the army of Daud who had set himself as an independent soveriegn in Bengal, after the battle of Tukaroi, in March 1575.

Folio 212a, painted by Manohar.(19.5 x 12.8cm)

Plate L : Munim Khan after defeating the army of Daud at Tukaroi, encamped near the battle field, where he erected the pillars of the heads of

enemies.

Folio 212b, painted by Manohar.(14 x 12.6cm)

Plate Li : Folio 226b, painted by Dharamdas. (19.4 x 13.4 cm)

Plate Lii : Folio 227, painted by Khem Karan. (19.5 x 13.5 cm) (A double-page illustration)- Shahbaz Khan captures the stone fort called Dunara in which some Rajputs of the Rathore clan had entrenched themselves in 1576.

Plate Liii : Sayyid Abd Allah Khan brings Akbar news of the conquest of Bengal and throws down the head of Daud.
Folio 230, painted by Inayat Khanazad. (21.7 x 12.5 cm)

Plate Liv : Akbar being weighed by the officers of his court against gold and other articles in 1577.
Folio 245, painted by Mukund. (19.6 x 12.5 cm)

Plate Lv : Folio 247b, painted by Mir Taqi. (22.1 x 12.3 cm)

Plate Lvi : Folio 248, painted by Mir Taqi. (22.2 x 12.8 cm) (A double-page illustration)- Akbar breaking in an elephant.

Plate LVii : The defeat of Raja Madhukar by Sadiq Khan. Folio 252, painted by Khem Karan.(21.6 x13.2cm)

Plate Lviii : Folio 255, painted by Dharamdas.(16.3 x 12.6 cm)

Plate Lix : Folio 256, painted by Khen Karan.(21.5 x 12.5cm) (A double-page illustration)- Shahbaz Khan marching to the assult of the fortress of Kumbhalmer in Rajputana which defended by the troops of the Rana of Mewar.

Plate Lx : Rudolfo Aquaviva and other jesuit, doubtless his companion Antonio Monserrate sitting in the Ibadat Khana and offering to enter the fire with the Gospels in their hands; if the Muhammadan theologians with the Quran would do the same.

Folio 263b, painted by Nar Singh.(22.5x12.4 cm)

Plate Lxi : Muzaffar Khan taking leave of Akbar on being nominated to the government of Bengal in March 1579. (The small child by the side of Akbar's throne is probably Sultan Murad)

Folio 268b, painted by Inayat.(22.5 x 13 cm)

List of the painters of the Ms. Akbarnama (Chester Beatty Collection), with the reference of their work.

1. Ahmad : Folio 23; 133 and 134.
2. Anant : Folio 32.
3. Balchand : Folios 152 and 153.
4. Dawlat : Folios 52; 168 and 169.
5. Dhanraj : Folio 25.
6. Dharam Das: Folios 123; 147; 148; 226 and 255.
7. Farrukh : Folios 32 and 33.
8. Goverdhan : Folios 49; 176; 177 and 201.
9. Inayat Khanazad: Folios 230 and 268.
10. Khem Karan: Folios 227; 252 and 256.
11. Lal : Folios 6; 7; 27; 59; 60; 72; 78; 79; and 142.
12. Madhu : Folio 1.
13. Manohar : Folios 32; 57; 212a and 212b.
14. Mir Taqi : Folios 297 and 298.
15. Mukund : Folios 33; 105; 155; 202 and 245.
16. Nar Singh : Folio 263.
17. Padarath : Folio 19.
18. Savnlah : Folios 71 and 122.
19. Shankar : Folios 10; 11 and 18.
20. Surdas : Folios 53; 54; 84; 157; 158; 162; 163; 187 and 188

Akbarnama (Victoria and Albert Museum, I.S.London):

The originals could not be accessible to us and the study has been based on the photostats issued by the courtesy of Bharat Kala Bhavan-Varanasi. The manuscript contains 117 illustrated folios which represent the names of 52 artists. Mostly the artists have worked on miniatures jointly. There work has been distinguished by the Persian term Tarah (outline) and amal (painting). Casually third artist also assisted the work and finished the face drawing (chehranami). Only in two instances on plates 1 and 114 we come across four names of the painters who accomplished the work of tarah, amal, chehranami and surat.

The colophon of the manuscript is lacking. Probably it was completed towards 1600 A.D. The illustrations mostly cover the full - page and a few are double-page - illustrations. Margins are left plain. Only the bands of lines remain to close the miniatures. These have survived in good condition. Format of the manuscript is 12" x 8½" and contains 461 folios. It is mutilated towards the end and bears an autograph of the emperor Jahangir. The colophon of the MS. is lacking. Most probably it was finished towards the ending years of Akbar's reign and the date of its completion may be taken about 1600 A.D. The Akbarnama is a detailed history of Akbar's reign comprising Akbar's birth, generally of Timurids, reigns of Babur and Humayun; Akbar's reign from the first to the

middle of 17th year to the end of the 46th. One part of the manuscript is known by the independent title '<u>Ain-i-Akabri</u>'. It deals with the administration and statics of the empire.

List of the painters with the reference of their works in the present manuscript --

1. Ahmad -- pl. 49.
2. Aiser -- pl. 34.
3. Assi brother of Miskin -- pls. 62, 100.
4. Babu Naqqash -- pl. 106.
5. Banwali <u>Kalan</u> -- pls. 11, 90, 104.
6. Banwali <u>Khurd</u> -- pls. 13, 48, 98.
7. Basawan -- pls. 17,18,21,22,24,50,61,62,81.
8. Bhawani -- pls. 31, 86.
9. Bhagwan -- pls. 49, 52, 83.
10. Bhura -- pls. 67, 74, 75.
11. Chatur -- pls. 21, 22, 79.
12. Chaturmuni-- pls. 63, 82, 85, 116.
13. Dharmdas -- pls. 24, 78.
14. Farrukh -- pl. 81.
15. Farrukh Beg -- pls. 96, 117.
16. Ibrahim Kahar -- pl. 28.
17. Ikhlas -- pl. 60.
18. Jagan -- pls. 30, 34, 58, 94.

19. Jagannath -- pls. 10, 35.

20. Jagjiwan -- pls. 47, 111.

21. Hussain Naqqash -- pl. 113.

22. Kanha -- pls. 12, 13, 64, 97.

23. Kesu -- pls. 48, 113.

24. Kesu Kalan -- pls. 65, 78,79,82,83,85,110,111,116.

25. Kesu Khurd -- Pls. 40, 87.

26. Khanin - pl. 12.

27. Khem -- pl. 44.

28. Kheman Sangtrash -- pls. 12,25.

29. Khem Karan -- pls. 15, 20 (?).

30. Lal - pls. 27,28,32,42,43,44,54,76,92,102,106,107,108,109.

31. Madhu -- pl. 60.

32. Madho Kalan -- pls. 14, 65.

33. Mahesh -- pl. 40.

34. Miskin or Miskina -- pls. 23,45,52,66,67,72,74,87,88,90, 98, 100, 114.

35. Mohammad -- pl. 50.

36. Mohammad Gujrati -- pl. 102

37. Mukhlis -- pl. 97.

38. Mukund -- pl. 32

39. Muni -- pl. 109

40. Naman -- pls. 30, 32.

41. Nand son of Ramdas -- pls. 27, 64.

42. Nand Gwalari -- pls. 58, 59.

43. Nar Singh -- pl. 110.

44. Paras -- pl. 72.

45. Ramdas -- pls. 42, 94.

46. Sarvan -- pls. 18,45, 66 (?), 88, 114.

47. Savanla -- pls. 31, 54, 92, 107.

48. Shankar -- pls. 23, 75, 76.

49. Tara Kalan -- pls. 18, 61.

50. Tirya -- pl. 6.

51. Tulsi -- pls. 6, 31, 86.

52. Tulsi Kalan -- pls. 47, 103, 104.

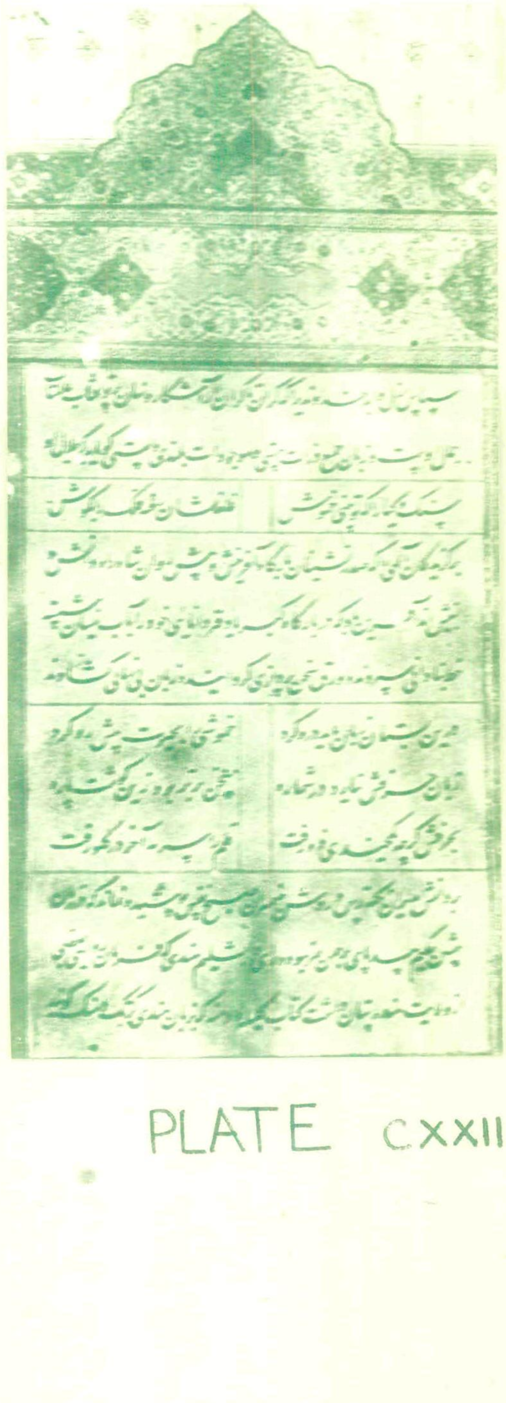


PLATE CXXII

APPENDIX NO. 3

A N W A R - I - S U H A I L I

Three illustrated copies of Anwar-i-Suhaili are known to exist. These are preserved at Bharat Kala Bhawan, Varanasi, India; School of Oriental and African Studies, London; and British Museum, London (B.M. Add. 18579) respectively. The collections of the former two are the part of our study. The latter copy was finished during the reign of Jahangir, though illustration-work was started towards the end of Akbar's reign. The colophon of the manuscript is dated 1019 of the Hijri era, corresponding to 1610 or 1611 A.D. Two out of thirty six paintings of this MS. are dated six years earlier to A.H. 1019; which shows that the work was projected long ahead (in the time of Akbar).

(1) Anwar-i-Suhaili (Bharat Kala Bhawan)

The present copy is complete and good in condition. It contains 239 folios. Three folios - no.115, 154 and 236 are reported missing. Each sheet measures approximately $11\frac{3}{4}$ x $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The manuscript is written in black-ink, in a beautiful Nastaliq handwriting. A full page contains 15 lines and the written surface measures $7\frac{4}{5}$ x $4\frac{1}{10}$ inches. Occasionally we come across the sub-heading and the artist's names scribed in red-ink.

Paper is light buff in shade, well-polished and processed.

Paper of 24 sheets from folio no. 194 to 217 is reported of deep in tone than other sheets.

Colophon of the manuscript is dated 1005 of the Hijri era. An illustrated folio 242, painted by the artist-Anant; displays that this copy was scribed by Abdur Rahman-al-Haravi at Lahore. In this miniature artist has painted the scriber with his helper.

Whole manuscript is rebinded. Present binding is in red album illuminated with floral designs drawn in gold pigment.

It contains 26 illustrations, which display fourteen names of artists. First miniature which is a double-page illustration differs in style from the rest of the paintings. It is Persian in style. Costumes, utensils and musical-instruments depicted in the painting, all belongs to Persia. From the study point of view this folio can be studied separately. It does not bear the name of artist. And a few other illustrations do not display artist's name. Generally a painting covers the full page-a few have three or four lines of text above. Two illustrations are on half-page.

Illustrations and the text are closed by employing several band of lines drawn in black, green, red and gold pigments. These lines vary from 6 to 8 in number in the margin of .5 cm.

In Kala Bhawan Varanasi, the manuscript bear the accession no. 9069. Miniatures have been removed from the text and pasted

on mount-sheets separately. Slip of the artist's names are glued at the back of mounts. These are cut from the originals. Thus the manuscript is resetted once more by Kala Bhawan. It was purchased for Kala Bhavan from Dr. Bhagvati Prasad Singh, D.Lit; of Gonda district (Uttar Pradesh) against the payment of Rs.22,000; to shom it was awarded in April, 1958 for his literary achievements, by the Raja of State Balrampur (Gonda); where it was preserved in the Balrampur Palace Library.

It was Maharaja Digvijay Singh who brought this copy Balrampur from Oudh State Library, Lucknow in 1858. The location of the MS. from the date of its colophon (A.H. 1005), is difficult to be ascertained. Probably it was preserved at Imperial Library, Delhi as the tradition goes upto the end of 18th century; from where it was brought Lucknow by Saddat Khan - the V Nawab-Vijir of Oudh (1748-1814); or Asaf-ud-Daullah (1775-1797) - a great patron of Art, might have obtained it from Rohillas after conquering them. But we do not find any literary evidence in support of this view and it remains a conjecture.

List of the paintings of the Ms. Anwar-i-Suhaili (Bharat Kala Bhavan)

Plate No. I	:	A feast party in garden; (14.2 x 23½ cm).
Plate No. II	:	A feast party in garden; (14.2 x 23½ cm).
Plate No.III	:	A court scene; painted by Basawan. Folio no. 5, (14 x 24½ cm).
Plate No. IV	:	Hunting; artist's name is not given.

	Folio no. 17, (14.2 x 25 cm).
Plate No. V :	Hawk and a golden - pigeon; painted by Jagannath. Folio no. 25, (10.2 x 10 cm).
Plate No. VI :	Loins assembly; painted by Farrukh Chela. Folio no. 30, (13½ x 25 cm).
Plate No. VII :	Saints; painted by Dharamdas. Folio no. 32, (9.7 x 14.2 cm).
Plate No. VIII:	A man with a lion on his shoulders; painted by Mukund. Folio 42,(11 x 17.3 cm).
Plate No. IX :	A assembly of lion, jackal and other beasts; painted by Miskin. Folio 48, (14 x 25.3 cm).
Plate No. X :	Hawk and a fish; painted by Mahesh; Folio 55, (9 x 10.3 cm).
Plate No. XI :	Fisherman; painted by Jagannath. Folio 61, (14 x 25½ cm).
Plate No. XII :	Beasts sharing a killed camel; painted by Miskin. Folio 71, (13.2 x 25 cm).
Plate No. XIII:	A lion killing an ox; painted by Nand Gwalari. Folio 80, (13½ x 26 cm).

Plate No. XIV	:	Punishment; painted by Savnla. Folio 93, (14 x $23\frac{1}{2}$ cm).
Plate No. XV	:	A Princess on death bed; painted by Manohar. Folio 100.
Plate No. XVI	:	A camel-rider, saving a snake from fire; artist's name is cut on margin. Folio 113, (14 x 25 cm).
Plate No. XVII	:	Mourn in Darbar; painted by Lal. Folio 134, (14 x 24 cm).
Plate No. XVIII	:	Bear and monkey; painted by Shankar. Folio 144, (13 x 22 cm).
Plate No. XIX	:	Lion and a donkey; painted by Lachhman. Folio 160, (13.4 x $29\frac{1}{2}$ cm).
Plate No. XX	:	A Lion killing a lady; painted by Lal. Folio 171.
Plate No. XXI	:	The old woman, the sick daughter and the cow; painted by Mukund. Folio 178, ($13\frac{1}{2}$ x 24 cm).
Plate No. XXII	:	An accident in a ship; painted by Miskin. Folio 190.
Plate No. XXIII	:	Fire; painted by Madho. Folio 201.
Plate No. XXIV	:	Fish in the court; painted by Jagannath. Folio 208, (13 x $25\frac{1}{2}$ cm).

Plate No. XXV	:	A wood - cutter; painted by Savnla. Folio 218, (13½ x 24 cm).
Plate No. XXVI	:	Gold-coins from the belly of an ox; artist's name is not given. Folio 233, (15 x 26½ cm).
Plate No. XXVII	:	A scriber with his helper; painted by Anant. Folio 242.

List of the painters of the MS. Anwar-i-Suhaili (Banaras Kala Bhavan) with the reference of their work.

1.	Anant	:	Folio 242
2.	Basawan	:	Folio 5
3.	Dharamdas	:	Folio 32
4.	Farrukh Chela	:	Folio 30
5.	Jagannath	:	Folios 25; 61 and 208
6.	Lachhman	:	Folio 160
7.	Lal	:	Folio 171
8.	Madho	:	Folio 201
9.	Mahesh	:	Folio 55
10.	Manohar	:	Folio 100
11.	Miskin	:	Folios 48; 71 and 190
12.	Mukund	:	Folios 42 and 178
13.	Nand Gwaliari	:	Folio 80
14.	Shankar	:	Folio 144

2. Anwar-i-Suhaili (School of Oriental and African Studies; London) (The MS. could not be accessible to us)

3. Anwar-i-Suhaili (British Museum, Add. 18579)

This copy is enclosed in a leather binding, ornamented with floral and geometrical patterns in relief. It contains 426 folios of $9\frac{3}{4}$ x $5\ {}^{7}/_{8}$ inches in size. First two folios are decorated with floral and ornamental designs drawn in red, black, blue and gold pigments. Headings and quotations are written in red or blue-ink. Margins of the text and illustrations are drawn by employing several bands of lines in gold and other pigments.

The colophon bears the date of 1019 A.H., corresponding to 1610 or 1611 A.D. Manuscript is written in Arabic script known as Naskhi. There are 34 illustrations in it which display 20 names of the artists, who belonged to the court of Akbar and Jahangir. Plate IV is dated 1013 of the Hijri era, i.e. six years before the date of MS. It shows that the work was projected long ahead (in the time of Akbar) and continued down to the reign of Jahangir. It can be said that besides the plate IV, and a few others were completed during the reign of Akbar.

Among the artists of Jahangir's court, two favourite painters of the emperor have contributed the plate VI and XXVIII. Plates II, VI, VII and XXXV do not display the name of artists.

List of the paintings :

Plate I : King Nushirvan; painted by Anant.

Plate II : The devotee.

Plate III : The hoard; painted by Muhammad Riza.

Plate IV : The young hawk and the hunt; painted by Muhammad Riza.

Plate V : King Danshalim ascending the mountain; painted by Aqa Riza.

Plate VI : King Dabshalim and the Sage Bidapi; painted by Abul Hasan.

Plate VII : Ghanim and the stone lion; painted by Muhammad Riza.

Plate VIII : The fox crushed between the fighting goats; painted by Mirza Ghulam (?).

Plate IX : The women killed by the sneeze; painted by Mirza Ghulam.

Plate X : The ferocious lion and the other animals; painted by Durga.

Plate XI : Dimnah and the ox.

Plate XII : The Simurgh and the army of birds.

Plate XIII : The Qazi and the dishonest partner; painted by Durga.

Plate XIV : The king, the devotee and the petitioners; painted by Anant.

Plate XV : The darvesh delivered by the Shaikh; painted by Hariya (?).

Plate XVI : The animals in council; painted by Ustad Husain.

Plate XVII : The camel rider, the snake and the buffalo; painted by Anant.

Plate XVIII : The king, his beloved and the young courtier; painted by Anant.

Plate XIX : The crow in the assembly of birds; painted by Husain.

Plate XX : The cats-treachery.

Plate XXI : The thief, the demon and the devotee; painted by Dharamdas and Padarath.

Plate XXII : The king, the ape and the thief; painted by Rahman Quli.

Plate XXIII : The devotee and his wife; painted by Mohan.

Plate XXIV : The devotee, the mongoose and the snake; painted by Anant.

Plate XXV : The lion, the unfaithful wife and the prince; painted by Nanha.

Plate XXVI : The old woman, the sick daughter and the cow; painted by Dharamdas.

Plate XXVII : The lion, the pious jackal and the other animals; painted by Mirza Gulam.

Plate XXVIII : The Sultan of Baghdad and the Chinese girl; painted by Bishandas.

Plate XXIX : The feast of the king of Yaman; painted by Aqa Riza.

Plate XXX : The revening lion; painted by Gubar Das.

Plate XXXI : The horseman and the dead hunter; painted by Salim Quli.

Plate XXXII : The death of the horseman; painted by Abd-a.-Salim.

Plate XXXIII : The washerman and the crane; painted by Madhu.

Plate XXXIV : The king of Hindustan and his possessions; painted by Salim.

Plate XXXV : Solomon and his subjects.

Plate XXXVI : The prince in his favourite garden; painted by Mirza Gulam.

<u>List of the painters with the reference of their work</u> :

1.	Abd-a.-Salim	:	plate 32
2.	Abul Hussain	:	plate 6
3.	Anant	:	plates 1;14;17;18 and 24.
4.	Aqa Riza	:	plates 5 and 29.
5.	Bishandas	:	plate 28.
6.	Dharam Das	:	plates 21 and 26
7.	Durga	:	plates 10 and 13
8.	Gubar Das	:	plate 30
9.	Hariya	:	plate 15
10.	Hussain	:	plate 19

11.	Madhu	:	plate 33
12.	Mirza Gulam	:	plates 8 ; 9; 27 and 36
13.	Mohan	:	plate 23
14.	Muhammad Riza	:	plates 3 ; 4 ; and 7
15.	Nanha	:	plate 25
16.	Pidarath	:	plate 21
17.	Ustad Hussain	:	plate 16
18.	Rahman Quli	:	plate 22
19.	Salim	:	plate 34
20.	Salim Quli	:	plate 31.



PLATE CXXIII

APPENDIX NO. 4

DIWAN-I-HAFIZ

Various copies of Diwan-i-Hafiz are known to exist in the different collections of world. It contains the Gazals and Qasidas composed by Muhammad Shamsul-Din, usually known by his title Hafiz. He was born in Shiraz about A.D. 1320 and died in A.H. 791 or 792 (= A.D. 1389 or 1390.

(a) DIWAN-I-HAFIZ (Sir Chester Beatty Collection):

It is a fragment of the MS. Diwan-i-Hafiz and contains only 53 folios. It is defective on both the ends. Folio 3b and 52 contain the opening and colophon of the manuscript. Folios from 10 to 15 are numbered 152 to 157 and folios 24 to 31 are numbered 230 to 237. Folio 32 is numbered 261. Pagination from folio 33 to 40 is 337 to 344 and folio 45 is numbered 280.

Format of the present copy is 14 x 9 cm. and the written surface measures 7.5 x 4.5 cm. A full-page contains two columns of 9 lines. It is written in beautiful Nastaliq style on light brown paper. Inscriptions are written mostly in two columns divided from one another by two narrow gold-lines. The margins are of a lighter tone. It is bounded in leather, painted with gold-pigment, displaying three red lines along the outer edges.

Folio 7 contain a full page miniauture. Throughout the volume there are a number of scattered columns of bird- illustrations, generally drawn in pairs and among the foliage. Among them blue jay, the green pigeon, the king-fisher, the demoiselle crane, the Saras crane and etc. can be recognized. Margins are decorated in a variety of conventional-floral designs, stencilled in gold. Folio one and two display stencilled design- depicting a human head emerging from blue-petals and enclosed in a circular golden-sun with wavy rays, Folio 2,3, 52 and 53 are pasted with plane outer margins. Inscriptions are written in white on gold-grounds on folio 2 and 3. Folio 52 and 53 contain inscrption in red ink. Mainly in these four pages blue and gold pigments are used. Hashiyas are drawn with the motifs of animals, human-faces and flowers etc. etc. Inscriptions are closed by employing several bands of lines drawn in varying pigments.

Date of colophon, given in an inscription of folio 53, is A.H. 990 (= A.D. 1582) and the name of the copiest is given Abd-al-Samad. Folio 1 displays the following seals:

1. Above: The circular seal of Akbar with the words- Allahu Akbar Jalla Jalaluhu.

2. In the centre: Asad Khan, servant of Badshah Alamgir Gazi with the date of A.H. 1103 (=A.D. 1691-92). A circular seal.

3. Below: Muazzaz Khan, servant of Badshah Gazi Muhammad Shah with the date A.H. 1132 (=A.D. 1719-20). A circular seal.

4. Upper small circular seal: Mahwi Allahu Akbar with the date of '90 (probable A.H. 990 = A.D. 1582).

5. Lower small circular seal: Ruh Allah Khan.

6. Small oblong seal: Nur Jahan Begum.

7. There is one another seal which is illegible.

On folio 1b, there is a smaller seal of Akbar, similar to one (above), and a duplicate of 6 (above). Folio 2 also displays a smaller seal of Akbar. On folio 55b, a large seal of Akbar is repeated with an arz-didah of A.H. 1115 (=A.D. 1703).

The colophon of the manuscript seems forged where it[1] suggests that this copy was prepared at the instigation of Asaf Khan, the brother-in-law of the Emperor Jahangir. Verisimilitude was added by the addition of the folios with the seals of Akbar and Nur Jahan. As in the year 1582 A.D., Asaf Khan was an infant of one year and prince Salim was then a boy of thirteen years.

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1. The Colophon states that this selection from Diwan-i-Hafiz was copied by the weakest of slaves Khwajah Abd-al-Samad, Shirin-Qalam, in the year A.H. 990 (=A.D. 1582) at the instigation of Asaf Khan. (see folio 53).

(b) Diwan-i-Hafiz : (Raza Library Rampur, U.P.)

One copy of Diwan-i-Hafiz is preserved in Raza Library (Ref. No. 188) at Rampur (U.P.). It is in good condition though incomplete towards the end. There are 404 folios including 11 miniatures. Colophon of the manuscript is lacking. Place, where the copy was composed; is not known.

Present copy was purchased in 1273 Hijri era, corresponding to 31st January 1857 by Mohammad Kalbe Ali, Vali Ahad Rampur; from Mohammad Akram, grand-son of Hafiz Khurshid Khusnavis Lakhnavi, against the payment of rupees fifty only.[2] Vali Ahd, Rampur has signed the manuscript in the beginning and end. Besides the autograph and seal of Vali Ahd, Rampur; there are the impressions of other autographs and seals, but these are faded in condition and unreadable. These faded-impressions clearify that the manuscript, before passing in the hands of Mohammad Akram; was preserved in some Imperial Library, as the tradition goes upto the last of 18th century and beginning of 19th century.

Manuscript contains Gazals composed by Khawaja Hafiz of Shiraz. It opens with an introduction which runs into seven leaves (from folio no. 2-8). The author has not disclosed his name in the text. Probably Mohammad Gulandam wrote an introduction as we

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2. See folio 1.

come across this name in the opening chapter of Diwan-i-Hafiz, published at Nami Press, Kanpur (U.P.) in 1930. From folio No. 8 to 19, Qasidas are composed and subsequently the Gazals. Head-lines are not given in the text, but spaces are left blank in the end of each Qasida or Gazal.

Manuscript is written in Nastaliq - style in black ink. Only in one case red ink is used on folio 2. Paper used for calligraphy is smooth; well processed; light buff in shade; sprinkled with gold-dust and uniform in size. Generally the written surface measures 15 x 8 cm. A full page contains 13 lines. Several bands of lines- drawn in green, blue, red, black and gold-pigments, are employed on the margins of each folio. Casually floral patterns are drawn to decorate the bands. Thickness of border is measured from 1 to 1.4 cm.

Manuscript contains 11 miniatures,[3] painted by artists of Akbar's court. These display six names.[4] On folio 314, artist's name (probably Narsing), has cut on the margin. Pigments are yet fresh and bright. Unfortunately a few paintings are damaged on margins. Present copy is remargined and bounded in a blue album provided with red-leather on its corner and back. Format of the manuscript is 19.7 x 26.3 cm.

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3. Folios 19; 30; 74; 116; 147; 211; 247; 284; 314 and 355.
4. Cheter; Farrukh Chela; Kanha; Manohar; Narsing and Savnlah.

Mounts employed in the margins of folios, are slightly thick and hard though smooth and well polished. These are of various shades: Brown, dark-brown, deep green, dark-grey and blue. Mounts provided with illustrations are illuminated with line-drawings of birds, animals, flowers and ornamental motifs. Lines are drawn in gold pigment. Inner-part of the objects is always filled with some pigment deep in tone than the shade of mount-sheet. Sometimes, the objects are drawn after the Chinese tradition.

Generally the paintings cover a full page. Two or three lines of the text are composed with illustrations on the top, or below, or on both places. Thus, hieght of the miniatures has varied from 8.2 cm. to 11.3 cm. and the width exceeds from 7.8 cm. to 8.8 cm. Paper employed for the illustrations and calligraphy, is the same.

Opening of the manuscript with the term "Allaho Akbar", help us to understand that probably this copy was scribed during the days when Din-Ilahi was already introduced by the emperor Akbar. Falling which,[5] Colophon of the manuscript may be fixed A.D. 1582 approximately; but as such there is no literary evidence, it remains a conjecture.

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5. The colophon of the MS. Diwan-i-Hafiz (C.B. Collection) has also shown this date on folio 53.

LIST OF THE PAINTERS WITH REFERENCE OF THEIR WORK:

1. Cheter : Folio 355
2. Farrukh <u>Chela</u> : Folio 116 and 177
3. Kanha : Folio 19
4. Manohar : Folio 147
5. Narsing : Folio 247 and 314 (?).
6. Saunlah : Folio 74

(c) <u>Diwan-i-Hafiz</u> : (British Museum, OR. 7573)

This copy contains 8 miniatures are three of which contain the portraits of the emperor Jahangir and of other members of Royal family and the court. The manuscript lacks the Colophon but after examining the portraits painted in the various illustrations and the style of painting; this can be dated in the early years of Jahangir.

The style and colour of <u>Diwan-i-Hafiz</u> (Sir Chester Beatty Collection, Dublin) are very similar to most of the illustrations contained in the British Museum manuscript.[6]

(d) Mr. Chester Beatty has preserved one another copy of <u>Diwan-i-Hafiz</u>[7] (MS. 64). It displays <u>taswir</u> of birds which are similar in style, expression and colour; to those executed in the manuscript described above (see a).

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6. <u>A Catalogue of Indian Miniatures</u>, Vol. I; p. 79.
7. <u>Ibid</u>, p. 79.

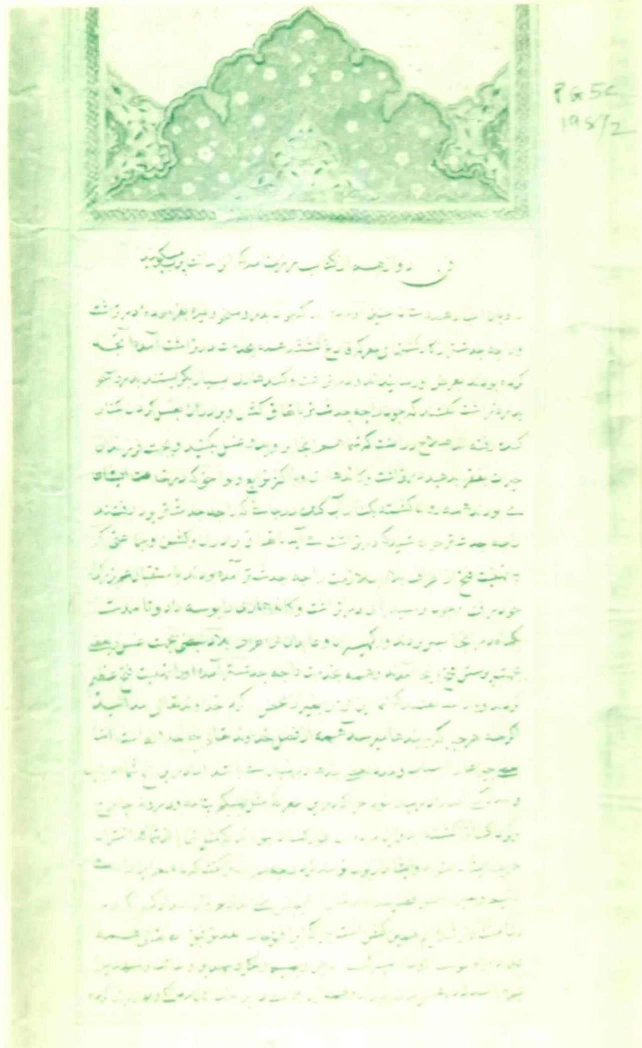


PLATE CXXIV

APPENDIX NO. 5

RAZMNAMA (History of War)

Only three well illustrated copies of the manuscript - illustrated by the painters of the Akbar's court, are known to exist at present in : City Place Museum, Jaipore; Rajasthan(India); Baroda State Museum, Gujrat (India) and British Museum, London (England).

Razmnama is the Persian abridgement of the ancient book Mahabharata - a religious book of Hindus. It was repeatedly copied by the grandees and richly illuminated with miniatures by the painters of the court; who were ordered by the Emperor Akbar.[1] It is not clear whether the translation into Persian language was made from the Sanskrit or Hindi or the both languages. Abul Fazl states that it was translated from Hindi into Persian.[2] Badaoni has shown the probability that there may have been Hindi translations or extracts;[3] as Akbar himself explained a few passages of Mahabharta

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1. "This Razmnama was illuminated and repeatedly copied; the grandees were ordered to make copies, and Abul-Fazl wrote an introduction to it of about two juz, etc." Badaoni, Vol.II, p.302; Ain, Vol.I, pp. 111-112 (F.M.2).

2. "The Mahabharta which belongs to the ancient books of Hindustan has likwise been translated from Hindi into Persian, under the superintendence of Naqib Khan, Mawlana ? Abdv-i-Qadir of Badaoni and Shaykh Sultan of Thanesar." Ibid; pp. 110-111.

3. Badaoni, Vol. II, p. 209.

to Nagib Khan- a translator.[4] Translation-work was taken up by Naqib Khan, Abdur Qadir of Badaoni and Shaikh Sultan of Thanesar. Abul-Fazl wrote an introduction to it.[5] In all it contained nearly one hundred thousand verses.[6] Later portions of the manuscript were completed by Mulla Sheri and Naqib Khan. Besides, Several Hindu learneds were employed to explain Mahabharta, to the translators.[7] Work was completed during the year 990 A.H; and was titled Razmnama[8] T.H.Hindley[9] has wrongly interpreted Badaoni, where he mentions in his book that order for its translation was given by Akbar in 990 A.H. (= A.D. 1582). This task must have been taken a few years earlier to 1582 A.D. Sultan Haji of Thanaswar[10] took four years to finish the translation of Mahabharta, start of which was already taken up by Naqib Khan. Keeping in view these accounts commencing date of Razmnama made be taken round about 985 A.H.

Jaipore Manuscript

Present copy contains 169 miniatures. Out of which 147 have been published in volume IV of the Memorial of the Jaipore Exhibition

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4. Ibid, p. 302; Ain, Vol. I, p. 111-112.
5. Badaoni, Vol.II, p.302; Ain Vol.I, p. xli.
6. Ibid; p. 111.
7. Ibid; p. 115.
8. "Among the remarkable events of this year is the translation of Mahabharta, - and when fairly engrossed, and emblished with pictures, the Amirs had orders to take copies of it, with the blessing and favour of God." Badaoni, Vol.II, pp.329-331.
9. Razmnamah (Memorial of the Jeypore Exhibition-1883), Vol.IV; City Place Museum Jeypore.
10. Badaoni, Vol. III, p. 173.

11
1883. Manuscript opens with a preface by Abul Fazl, dated 1588 A.D. (= A.H. 995). Keeping it in view the miniatures of the copy may be dated 1590 A.D; as such the work of illumination must have taken a few years towards its completion.[12] Exact date of its possession in Jaipore is not known. Last leaf of the manuscript bears the impression of eleven seals, of which five are unreadable. Remaining six can be read likewise.

a- Mohibbe Ali, Banda-ash Akbarshah.

b- Sadikullah Khan, Banda-ash Shahjehan.

c- Arshed Khan Khanizad Shah Alam Padshah Gazi.

d- " " " " "

e- Akbul Haq Bin Qasim Shirazi.

f- Fatehullah Bin Abdul Fateh.

These impress of seals clearifies that this copy passed from the libraries of the grandees belonging to the reign of the emperor Akbar, Shahjehan and Shah Alam. The earliest arzdidah is in the right hand corner at the bottom over the seal of Mohibbe Ali.

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11. Originals could not be accessible to us and the study has been based on the book Razmnamah - Memorial of the Jaipore Exhibition, 1883; Vol. IV; by T.H. Hendley; which displays only 147 miniatures in black and white.

12. Copies of the Razmnama, embellished with pictures- completed during the year 1582 A.D. (= 990 A.H.); may be taken as the first illuminated copies of the manuscript and the Jaipore Manscript, dated 995 A.D. (= 1588 A.D.); a little later.

It is dated 1003 A.H. (= 1594 A.D.). Latest is the seal of Arshad Khan servant of the emperor Shah Alam. It is dated A.H. 1119 (= 1708 A.D.).

Besides, a few double-page-illustrations, most are one page illustrations. These display 46 names of the painters,[13] which cover the list given by Abul Fazl in the <u>Ain</u>[14] with an exception of Mir Sayyid Ali, Khawaja Abdus Samad and Haribas. Generally miniatures are signed.[15] Thirty-eight plates display single name of the artist[16] and 99 plates are the example of joint-work which include two names.[17] Only in one instance three artists have joined the work on plate C xiv. Sketch is drawn by one artist and the colouring is done by another.

Themes generally executed on the whole page, mostly have a line or two or and more of the text on the above or lower margin of the miniature or sometimes on the both places. Several bands of line in various pigments are employed to close the illustrations.

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13. Anis; Babu; Banwari; Basawan; Bhagwan; Bhura; Chaterbhuj; Chitra; Dara; Dhanno; Baswant; Farrokh <u>Chela</u>; Gulam Nabi; Gulam Ali; Iqbal; Jagan; Jagjiwan; Jaswant; Kanha; Khemkaran; Keshodas; Kesu, Lal; Lalu; Madu; Madhu <u>Kalan</u>; Madhu <u>Khurd</u>; Mahesh; Manu (or Muni); Miskin (or Miskinah); Mohamed Sharif; Mukhlis; Mukund; Munir; Nama; Narain; Paras; Ramdas; Sanvala; Sarvan; Shankar (or Shankaran); Surjan; Tara; Tulsi; Tirpal (or Thirpal).
14. <u>Ain</u>, Vol.I,p. 114.
15. Plate no. 1; 2; 19; 96; 97; 107; 136; 139; 140 and 147 are unsigned.
16. Plate no. 13;25;28;29;30;31;36;37;38Rs42;43(b);44;45;56;60;72; 77;90;91;92;94;98;102;103;128;129;130;131;132;133;134;135;137; 138;141;142;143 and 146. (for Foot-note 17 see next page)

List of the paintings of the Jaipore Manuscript:

Plate No. I : Artist's name is not given.
The Kauravas, or hundred sons of Dhritarashtra, introduced to their cousions, the Pandavas. They stand beneath a Pipal tree. (Duryodhana carries a mace).

Plate No. II : Artist's name is not given.
Pandavas with their mother Kunti, taking refuge, after the death of Pandu at the court of Raja Dhritarashtra at Hastinapur. Pandavas stand under a Banyan tree. (Plate is damaged on left and below margins.).

Plate No. III : Sketch by Tulsi; painted by Mani. Bhim alarming his cousins, the Kauravas, by shaking a Bamyan tree into which they had climbed.

Plate No. IV : Sketch by Lal; painted by Sanvala.
Arjun killing a crocodile which has seized his guru-Drona while he was bathing in the Ganges river.

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contd. foot-note no. 17. Plate no. 3 to 12; 14 to 17;18;20;21;22; 23;24;26;27;32;33;34;35;39;40;41;43(a); 46 to 55; 57 to 59; 61 to 71; 73 to 76; 78 to 89; 93;95;99 to 101; 104 to 106; 108 to 113; 115 to 127; 144 and 145.

Plate No. V : Sketch by Lal; painted by Mukhlis.
Bhim fighting the demon Hidimba, while Kunti and his brothers sleep.

Plate No. VI : Sketch by Daswanth; painted by Kesu.
Swayamvar of Draupdi. Arjun wins the hand of the princess by shooting an arrow into the eye of a golden fish which he sees reflected in boiling water.

Plate No. VII : Sketch by Basawan; painted by Gulam Ali.
Arjun when in exile, while bathing in tank is seized by a crocodile, which he drags out, thereby releasing an Apsara, who had been condemned to reside in the reptile until his appearance.

Plate No. VIII : Sketch by Lal; painted by Bhagwan. Bhim killing Jarasandha, Raja of Maghda (Bihar), by slitting him into two halves.

Plate No. IX : Sketch by Daswanth; painted by Ramdas.
Krishna in his divine form with his quoit cuts off the head of sisupala, who opposed his worship at the Rajasuya or installation sacrifice of Yudhishtira.

Plate No. X : Sketch by Basawan; painted by Dhannu.
Yudhishtira loses at dice his kingdom and

wife Draupadi. Dushasan* one of the Cauravas, attempts to insult the princess by dragging off her robes, which however, are miraculously lengthened by Krishna.

Plate No. XI : Sketch by Tulsi; painted by Paras.
Krishna kills salwa and destroys his magic house or chariot which Mahadeo had given him.

Plate No. XII : Sketch by Daswanth; painted by Basawan.
Arjun, sitting by the side of his divine father Indra, witnesses joys of heaven, and sees the calestial nymphs or Apsara's dance.

Plate No. XIII : Tulsi.
The princess Damyanti distinguishing the real Nala from the four gods, who had personated him at her swayamvar.

Plate No. XIV : Sketch by Basawan; painted by Anis.
Parrurama, the sidth incarnation of Vishnú, killing Kartavirya, the Kshatriya king of Anupa, who had murdered his father-the sage of Jamadagni.

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* Dushasan has wrongly been referred as Pandava by T.H.Hendley.

Plate No. XV : Sketch by Daswant; painted by Kanha. The great deluge in which all creatures were saved in a vessel attached to the horn of a fish- the Matsya or fish incarnation of Vishnu.

Plate NO. XVI : Sketch by Lal; painted by Lalu. A tortoise recognises Raja Indradyumni, who lived so long ago that no one else remembered him. Angels wait to bear him to heaven.

Plate No. XVII : Sketch by Mukund; painted by Madho. Jayadratha, Raja of Sindhu, attempts to abduct Draupadi, but she is released by the Pandavas.

Plate No. XVIII : Sketch by Jagan; painted by Madho. Ravana, demon king of Lanka (Ceylon), in the guise of a religious mendicant, abducting Sita, wife of Rama. Rama and Lakshmana, are seen performing their devotions, in another part of picture.

Plate No. XIX : Artist's name is not given. Jatayus, chief of Vultures, attempts to release Sita, but is mortally wounded.

Plate No. XX : Sketch by Khemkaran; painted by Iqbal. Bali, a king of monkey, who had usurped the throne

from his brother Sugriva, fight with him, and would have conquered had not Rama, himself unseen, shot him with an arrow.

Plate No. XXI : Sketch by Basawan; painted by Babu. Hanuman, the monkey general, is caught while attempting to communicate with Sita in the Ashoka garden, at Lanka, and is condemned by Ravana to have his tale wrapped in oiled cloths and set on fire. The tail miraculously swells so that all the bandages in Lanka cannot cover it.

Plate No. XXII : Sketch by Basawan; painted by Miskin. Hanuman sets fire to Lanka with his flaming tail. The demons who inhabit the city fly in terror.

Plate No. XXIII : Sketch by Lal; painted by Surjan. Rama and his allies, the monkeys and the bears, crossing to the island of Lanka, on the bridge they had made.

Plate No. XXIV : Sketch by Daswanth; painted by Mukhlis. Ravana comming out of Lanka to fight with Rama and his allies.

Plate No. XXV : Jagjivan.
Hanuman bringing a ridge of the Himalaya mountains, whereon grow herbs which would heal his slain friend. Bharta-brother of Rama, shoots him, not knowing who he is. (when the monkey was passing over Ayodhya).

Plate No. XXVI : Sketch by Mukund; painted by Banwari.
Rama conquers Ravana.

Plate No. XXVII : Sketch by Mukund; painted by Banwari.
After the battle, Rama asks Sita to purge herself by undergoing the ordeal by fire.

Plate No. XXVIII: Mahesha.
Rama restored to the throne of Ayodhya (Sita is shown sitting in the female appartment).

Plate No. XXIX : Kanha.
Deer sporting in the forest.

Plate No. XXX : Kanha.
Pandu brothers attempt to kill the deer.

Plate No. XXXI : Kesu.
Bhima, while disguised as a cook at the court of Raja Virata, kills Jimuta, a wrestler

who had defeated all the rest of the king's servants.

Plate No. XXXII : Sketch by Daswant; painted by Mukund. Bhima, dressed as a woman, kills Kichaka- Commander-in-chief of Virata.

Plate No. XXXIII : Sketch by Daswant; painted by Mukund. Bhima kills the brothers of Kichaka, when they are about to burn Draupadi.

Plate No. XXXIV : Sketch by Basawan; painted by Bhura. Bhima rescues Raja Virta from Susarman, king of Trigarta, who had taken him prisoner.

Plate No. XXXV : Sketch by Lal; painted by Madho Khurd. Arjun in defence of the kingdom of Virata, defeats Drona- his old teacher and the Kauravas.

Plate No. XXXVI : Mukund.
Twastri, in revenge fror the slaughter of his own son by Indra, creates a wolf-woman who takes the king of heaven in her jawas, from which he only escapes by decreasing his size.

Plate No. XXXVII	:	Jagan. Duryodhana and his followers are visited by Krishna.
Plate No. XXXVIII	:	Jagan. Krishna arrives at Hastinapur to act as mediator between the Pandavas and Kaur-avas and visits Duryodhna.
Plate No. XXX IX	:	Sketch by Paras; painted by Basawan. Bhishma enthroned as the great hero of the Kauravas.
Plate No. XL	:	Sketch by Paras; painted by Basawan. Parsurama fighting with Bhishma, the uncle of Pandu, on behalf of Amba - daughter of the king of Kashi; who had been abducted by him, when she was about to hold her swayamvar.
Plate No. XLi	:	Sketch by Lal; painted by Madho. Amba, being abondoned by the Raja, burns herself. Mahadev promises her new life.
Plate No. XLii	:	Khemkaran. Pandavas, accompanied by Krishna, on the first day of the war, are granted permi-ssion to fight Bhishma, Drona and their

principal relatives.

Plate No. XLiii : Sketch by Daswant; painted by Tulsi.
Combats between sons of the principal leaders-especially Aswasthaman, Sikhandin and the half-demon Ghatotkacha.

Plate No. XLiii(bis): Tara.
Bhishma and Arjuna in single combat.

Plate No. XLiv : Tara.
Bhishma's son creates a number of magical elephants, which attack and overcome Bhagadatta, who is released by Drona.

Plate No. XLv : Mahesh.
Bhishma, pierced through with the arrows of Arjuna lies on their ends as on a coach.

Plate No. XLvi : Sketch by Lal; painted by Sarvan.
Bhagadatta, Raja of Pragiyotisha, attempted to kill Arjuna with a consecrated arrow, which would have reduced him to ashes, had not Krishna caught it on his chest, where it become the Vaijayanti-mala.

Plate No. XLvii : Sketch by Daswant; painted by Tulsi
(a double page illustration) Part of the

maze (or Chakra-Vyuha), in which form Kauravas drew up their forces on the 13th day of war, in attacking which Arjun's son, Abhimanyu, was slain by treachery.

Plate No. XLviii : Sketch by Daswant; painted by Tulsi
Death of Abhimanyu (apart of plate XLvii).

Plate No. XLix : Sketch by Shankar; painted by Mukund.
A miraculous frame-work of arrows, formed by Arjuna, to protect Krishna.

Plate No. L : Sketch by Basawan; painted by Mukund.
On the fourteenth day of the war, Arjuna cuts-off the head of Jayadratha, king of Sindhu, which falls into the lap of his father, who drops it on the ground, and so puts an end to his own life.

Plate No. Li : Sketch by Lal; painted by Banwari.
Ghatotkacha, son of the demon Hidamba, fighting with Karna.

Plate No. Lii : Sketch by Lal; painted by Banwari.
(part plate of Li) Ghatotkacha fighting Karna.

Plate No. Liii : Sketch by Jagjivan; painted by Basawan.
Karna kills Ghatotkacha.

Plate No. Liv : Sketch by Daswant; painted by Sarwan.
Drona kills Raja Draupada, father of Draupadi.

Plate No. Lv : Sketch by Lal; painted by Mukund.
Combat between Drona and Dhrishtadyumna.

Plate No. Lvi : Mukund
Death of Drona.

Plate No. Lvii : Sketch by Mahomed Sharif; painted by Munir.
Aswatthaman, son of Drona, in revenge of his father's death, endeavours to destroy the Pandavas with an arrow consecrated to fire.

Plate No. Lviii : Sketch by Keshodas; painted by Chitra.
Bhima destroys an army of barbarians with elephants, which had been sent to destroy him by Duryodhana.

Plate No. Lix : Sketch by Basawan; painted by Kanha.
Arjuna in his battle with Susarman, king of Trigarta, shoots an arrow which produces serpents.

Plate No. Lx : Jagan.
Bhima kills Dushasana, and drinks his blood

in pursuance of a vow made when he insulted Draupadi at the time of Yudhishthira lost his wife and kingdom.

Plate No. Lxi : Sketch by Makhlis; painted by Madho. Arjuna kills Karna, the mythical child of the sun.

Plate No. Lxii : Sketch by Daswant; painted by Paras. The deities Indra, Shiva and Brahma are seen in the sky with Gandharvas, after Arjuna has conquered Karna (a part plate of Lxi).

Plate No. Lxiii : Sketch by Daswant; painted by Bhagwan. Death of Salya, king of Madra.

Plate No. Lxiv : Sketch by Baswan; painted by Gulam Nabi. Battle between Bhima and Duryodhana, chief of the Kauravas, in which the thigh of the latter is unfairly broken sages appear in the sky, while the head of Raja Bibirik witnesses the scene from a tree.

Plate No. Lxv : Sketch by Basawan; painted by Gulam Nabi. (part plate of Lxiv) Balrama endeavouring to check Bhima from striking Duryodhana an unfair blow. The deties Vishnu, Shiva, Brahma and Indra appear in the sky.

Plate No. Lxvi : Sketch by Lal; painted by Khem Karan. Balrama attacking Bhima, after he had conquered Duryodhana.

Plate No. Lxvii : Sketch by Daswant; painted by Mahesh. Aswatthaman attacks the Pandavas camp at night, but is prevented by the god Siva, whom he propitiates, and is then allowed to enter.

Plate No. Lxviii : Sketch by Daswant; painted by Miskin. Aswatthaman kills Dhrishtadyumna, in the camp of Pandavas, by stamping upon him. Kripa and Kritavarman wath the gate.

Plate No. Lxix : Sketch by Daswant; painted by Sarwan. Night assault of the Pandavas camp, in which a huge ghoul (or female figure) rises out of the dead body of Sikhandin and drinks the blood of the slain. She is called kal-ratri.

Plate No. Lxx : Sketch by Daswant; painted by Basawan. Continuation of the night assault of the Pandava camp in which the sons of Draupadi are slain.

Plate No. Lxxi : Sketch by Tara; painted by Daswant. Krishna and the Pandavas asking Raja

Plate No. Lxxviii : Sketch by Tara; painted by Jaswant
Dharma, god of justice and right, tries Sudarshana, a pious Raja, and his wife; who had retired to the forest to live a good and pious life; and finds both truly charitable.

Plate No. Lxxix : Sketch by Lal; painted by Bhagwan.
Trial of Ashtavakra.

Plate No. Lxxx : Sketch by Mukund; painted by Farrukh Chela.
Indra arriving to kill old woman who wanted to devour seven sages.

Plate No. Lxxxi : Sketch by Kanha; painted by Basawan.
Bhima, Virsaketu and Meghavarna go in search of a horse for Raja Yudhishthira's sacrifice. Meghavarna seiges one(named Savakarna) belonging to Raja Yuvanaswa and takes it into the clouds.

Plate No. Lxxxii : Sketch by Lal; painted by Madho Kalan.
Battle between Bhima and Raja Yuvanaswa for the white horse- Savakarna.

Plate No. Lxxxiii : Sketch by Ramdas; painted by Lal.
Defeat of Raja Yuanaswa. White horse is brought before Yudhishthira by Bhim, Virshaketu and Meghavarna.

Plate No. Lxxxiv	:	Sketch by Jagjiwan; painted by Basawan. Bhima arrives at Dwarka to invite Krishna to the Ashwamegha.
Plate No. Lxxxv	:	Sketch by Tara; painted by Ramdas. Yudhishthira orders for the reception of Krishna.
Plate No. Lxxxvi	:	Sketch by Tara; painted by Ramdas. White horse is being taken carefully to the Zenana, that the family of Krishna may see it, when Anusal takes it forcibly away.
Plate No. Lxxxvii	:	Sketch by Lal; painted by Paras. Anusal is defeated by Virshaketu, son of Karna.
Plate No. Lxxxviii	:	Sketch by Daswant; painted by Bhura. Yudhishthira, Krishna and Pandavas, hold a great feast at Hastinapur before the horse is set at liberty.
Plate No. Lxxxix	:	Sketch by Lal; painted by Mukund. Sacrificial, white horse is entrusted to Arjuna.
Plate No. Xc	:	Tulsi (First adventure of the white horse). Raja Nildhavaj attempts to seize it.

Plate No. Xci : Jagan.

Second adventure of the white horse, in which the animal rubs himself against a rock and cannot get free.

Plate No. Xcii : Khem Karan.

Third adventure of the white horse, in which he enters in the country of Raja Hansadhwaja.

Plate No. Xciii : Sketch by Lal; painted by Tulsi.

Third adventure of the white horse, continued: Prince Sadhavana slain by his arrow.

Plate No. Xciv : Mahesha.

Third adventure of the white horse, continued: Suratha, the general of Hansadhwaja, is dragged by Hanuman.

Plate No. Xcv : Sketch by Anis; painted by Jagjiwan.

Fousth adventure of the white horse, in which he enters a pond and is changed into a mare and then into a tiger.

Plate No. Xcvi : Artist's name is not given.

Fifth adventure of the white horse, in which Arjuna defends him from Paramitra Queen of the Amazons.

Plate No. Xcvii : Artist's name is not given.

Six adventure of the white horse, in which he enters the country where the trees produce men and animals for fruit and the king and men have blanket ears.

Plate No. Xcviii : Kanha.

Hanuman descends from the flag-staff of Arjun's chariot and destroys the she-demons-fighting on behalf of Vibishana.

Plate No. Xcix : Sketch by Kanha; painted by Dara.

Arjuna defeats Vibishana.

Plate No. C : Sketch by Daswant; painted by Miskin.

Seventh adventure of the white horse in the country of Manipura-ruled by Arjun's son Vibhruvahana.

Plate No. Ci : Sketch by Mahomed Sharif; painted by Kesu.

(Story of Rama's Ashwamedha, told to Raja Janamejava).

Sita left in forest by Lakshmana -brother of Ram; gives birth to Lava and Kusha.

Plate No. Cii : Nana.

Rama's sacrificial horse is seized by Kusha and Lava who, defeat Lakshmana and Satrughana.

Plate No. Ciii : Madho Kalan.

Kusha kills Satrughan's general.

Plate No. Civ : Sketch by Mohomed Sharif; painted by Banwari.

Kusha wounds Satrughana-brother of Rama.

Plate No. Cv : Sketch by Mohomed Sharif; painted by Banwari.

Rama hears of his defeat by Kusha and Lava, while performing Ashwamegha cermonies.

Plate No. Cvi : Sketch by Manu; painted by Basawan.

Kusha kills Kalajit-Lakshman's general.

Plate No. Cvii : Artist's name is not given.

Kusha fights.

Plate No. Cviii : Sketch by Daswant; painted by Bhagwan.

Kusha and Lava defeat Hanuman.

Plate No. Cvix : Sketch by Lal; painted by Paras.

Defeat of Hanuman and Jamvant by Kusha and Lava.

Plate No. Cx : Sketch by Lal; painted by Chatarbhuj.

Arjun's army defeated by his son Vibru-Vahana.

Plate No. Cxi : Sketch by Lal; painted by Bhagwan.

Vibru Vahana slays his father-Arjuna with a crescentic tipped arrow.

Plate No. Cxii : Sketch by Basawan; painted by Tulsi.

Vibru-Vahana fights snakes to secure mani to restore the life of Arjuna.

Plate No. Cxiii	:	Sketch by Madho; painted by Basawan. Krishna, Bhima, Kunti, Subhadra and others come to Hastinapur on Garuda.
Plate No. Cxiv	:	Sketch by Lal and Mahesh; painted by Narain. Sheshnaga replaces Arjun's head and restores him to life.
Plate No. Cxv	:	Sketch by Basawan; painted by Kanha. Eight adventure of the white horse in the country of king Tamradhwaja, who is also performing an Ashwamegha. He throws Arjun into the air.
Plate No. Cxvi	:	Sketch by Lal; painted by Bhagwan. Continuation of the eight adventure of the white horse in the country of the Raja of Ratanapur.
Plate No. Cxvii	:	Sketch by Basawan; painted by Anis. Viravarman, Raja of Saravastu, detains the white horse and Arjuna.
Plate No. Cxviii	:	Sketch by Tara; painted by Tulsi. Story of Bikya and Chandrahasa.
Plate No. Cxix	:	Sketch by Madho; painted by Lal. Bikya is married to Chandrahasa.
Plate No. Cxx	:	Sketch by Basawan; painted by Chitra.

Bikya's father plotting the death of Chandrahasa, killed his own son and committed suicide.

Plate No. Cxxi : Sketch by Basawan; painted by Kanha. Yudhishthira performing Ashwamegha.

Plate No. Cxxii : Sketch by Basawan; painted by Kanha. Bhima decapitates the horse which ascends to heaven.

Plate No. Cxxiii: Sketch by Lal; painted by Shankaran. Indra, at the request of Krishna, appears as a low caste man and offers amrita to Rishi Utanka but is refused.

Plate No. Cxxiv : Sketch by Basawan; painted by Miskinah. Rishi Utanka recovers earrings.

Plate No. Cxxv : Sketch by Mukund; painted by Lal Birth of Parikshit.

Plate No. Cxxvi : Sketch by Basawan; painted by Chaterbhuj. Sage of Vyasa consoles Dhritrashtra and his family.

Plate No. Cxxvii: Sketch by Basawan; painted by Chatarbhuj. (part plate of Cxxvi) Ghost of the slain horses rising from the Ganges.

Plate No. Cxxviii: Bhagwan. Satyaki taunts and kills Kritavarman at a feast of the Yadava family at Prabhasa.

Plate No. Cxxix :	Bhagwan. The Andhakas and Yadavas destroy each other at Prabhasa.
Plate No. Cxxx :	Basawan. Death of Balrama-brother of Krishna.
Plate No. Cxxxi :	Mukund. Krishna shot by Jara, a bhil-hunter.
Plate No. Cxxxii :	Mukund. Tortures of the damned in hell shown to Yudhishthira.
Plate No. Cxxxiii :	Mukund. (part plate of Cxxxii) Yudhishthira beholds th the Terror.
Plate No. Cxxxiv :	Paras. Krishna lifting the mountain Goverdhana on his finger.
Plate No. Cxxxv :	Thirpal. Krishna killing the demon Kesi.
Plate No. Cxxxvi :	Artist's name is not given. Krishna killing Raja Kansa.
Plate No. Cxxxvii :	Farokh Chela. Krishna and Balrama fight the army of Jarasandha.

Plate No. Cxxxviii	:	Madho Kalan. Krishna enthroned in an assembly of kings.
Plate No. Cxxxix	:	Artist's name is not given. City of Dwarka-built by Visvakarma, for Krishna.
Plate No. CXL	:	Artist's name is not given. (part plate of Cxxxix) Dwarka city.
Plate No. CXLi	:	Mukund. Battle between Krishna and Indra for the possession of the tree of life, Kalp-briksha. briksha.
Plate No. CXLii	:	Tulsi. Krishna kills and defeats Nikumbha.
Plate No. CXLiii	:	Tripal. Shiva slaying the demon Andhaka.
Plate No. CXLiv	:	Sketch by Lal; painted by Chaterbhuj. Pradyumna, son of Krishna, slaying the demon Vajranbha.
Plate No. CXLv	:	Sketch by Khem Karan; painted by Basawan. Pradyumna Killing Sambar.
Plate No. CXLvi	:	Tulsi Kalan. Banasur overcome by Krishna.
Plate No. CXLvii	:	Artist's name is not given. Vishnu in his dwarf incarnation.

Baroda Manuscript :

Razmnama preserved in the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery, Baroda (Gujrat) is far from complete. This copy contains only 32 scattered, loosed sheets displaying miniatures on the front and text on their back. From the contents of these folios, name of the scriber and the place where it was composed; is not traced. It is written in Nastaliq handwriting on buff-shade paper in black-ink. All the leaves are equal in size; that is 18.5 cm. x 30.5 cm. A full page contains 27 lines, measuring 9.5 cm. in length. The written surface is measured 18.5 cm. x 30.5 cm. Several bands of line - 4 to 5 in number drawn in black or blue colours with gold-pigment- are employed to close the text and illustrations on their margins. The scale of miniatures vary from 10.5 cm to 15.8 cm into width and 19.5 cm to 28.5 cm in hieght.

Paintings display 19 names of the painters,[18] a few of which popularly known for their works in the other manuscripts; of the Akbar's court. Mostly these are written in black-ink, though

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18. Ahmed Kashmiri; Bahasan; Banwari Khurd; Bhawani; Bulaqi; Dhannu; Fatto; Hazi; Hussain; Jagjiwan; Jamshed; Khaiman; Madho Gujrati; Narain; Pak; Paras; Phiroz son of Samal; Qabul; Saparjan.

a few in red; on the lower margin of the border. Three illustrations are unsigned.[19] Occasionally artist's names are followed with the word _Amal_ (= colouring or painting).

All the miniatures are remargined and preserved in loose-sheets at the Museum. Their pigments are yet fresh. However, unfortunately, a few are damaged on margins.

Manuscript bears accession no. 198/1-32, in the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery.[20] The location of the manuscript from the date of its colophon, is difficult to be ascertained. The colophon may be recorded from plate no. 31- painted by Pak artist, displaying Agni, disquised as a pigeon, seeking king Usinara's protection- dated 1007 of the Hijri era, corresponding to 1598 A.D.

List of the paintings :

I : (could not be accessible to us)

II : Title page of the manuscript.(10.5 cm x 6.8 cm.)

III : Indra meeting Yugal and Shyamala; painted by Bulaqi. (14.3 cm. x 22.7 cm.)

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19. Plate No. 17, 18 and 26.

20. Date of its accession is not clear from the present records, accessible to us at the Museum.

IV : Parrots advice to Indra; painted by Hazi (11.5 cm. x 20.7 cm.)

V : Vyas with his disciples; painted by Paras.(14.5 cm. x 24 cm.)

VI : Gift of Parsurama to Kashyapa; painted by Fatto(?). (13.4 cm. x 24.7 cm.)

VII : Krishna invoking Ganesha; painted by Narain.(13.5 cm x 20.5 cm.)

VIII : A battle scene; painted by Madho Gujrati. (14 cm. x 24.8 cm.)

IX : Raja of Banaras and his sons; painted by Bhavani. (15.5 cm. x 24.8 cm.)

X : Bhishma and Yudhishthira in conference; painted by Qabul. (12.8 cm. x 26.8 cm.)

XI : King seated inside a camp; painted by Dhann (or Dhannu). (11.5 cm. x 21 cm.)

XII : Indra and Amravani, wife of Devasarma; painted by Banwari jurd (?) (= Khurd). (11 cm. x 21.5 cm.)

XIII : Nakula learning astronomy; painted by Pak. (13.8 cm. x 23.8 cm.)

XIV : Raja Sanjeva assulted by dacoits; painted by Bulaqi. (11 cm. x 20.4 cm.)

XV : King (Karna ?) asking blessings from a sage; painted by Jagjiven.

XVI : Yudhishthira and Arjun; painted by Bhavani. (12 cm. x 21.2 cm.)

XVII : Shrine of Shiva - devotees bringing offerings; artist's name is not given. (16.2 cm. x 28.3 cm.)

XVIII : An interview of a king with a Rishi; artist's name is not given. (15.5 cm. x 27.5 cm.)

XIX : Indra in his heavenly garden; painted by Ahmed Kashmiri. (10.6 cm. x 19.7 cm.)

XX : Indra in heaven, served by apsaras; painted by Ahmed Kashmiri. (13.4 cm.x 23.3 cm.)

XXI : King Daropada performing sacrifices; painted by Saparjan. (10.8 cm. x 20.2 cm.)

XXII : The serpant sacrifice of Jammejaya; painted by Dhanu (or Dhannu). (10.8 cm. x 20.3 cm.)

XXIII : Pandavas and Draupadi visiting Gandhari; painted by Khaiman. (14.4 cm. x 24.5 cm.)

XXIV : Raja hunting deer; painted by Hussain. (10.8 cm. x 20 cm.)

XXV : Seeking help for the wounded man; painted by Phiroz son of Samal. (11.6 cm. x 21.4 cm.)

XXVI : Yudhishthira and Krishna conversing; artist's name is not given. (15.8 cm. x 28.2 cm.)

XXVII : Sisupala -Vadh; painted by Jamshed. (13 cm. x 22.6cm.)

Plate No. XXVIII	:	Advice of Bhishma to Yudhishthira; painted by Bahasan. (12.2 cm. x 21 cm.)
Plate No. XXIX	:	The horse sacrifice (Ashva-megha); painted by Dhanu (or Dhannu). (11 cm. x 20.3 cm.)
Plate No. XXX	:	King Yudhishthira distributing alms to poors; painted by Jamshed (?). (14.3 cm. x 24.5 cm.)
Plate No. XXXI	:	Agni, disguised as a pigeon, seeking king Usinara's protection; painted by Pak; dated 1007 A.H. (15 cm. x 24 cm.)
Plate No. XXXII	:	A battle between Kauravas and Pandavas; painted by Jagjiwan. (20.4 cm. x 14.2 cm.)

APPENDIX NO. 6

TARIKH-I-KHANDAN-I-TIMURIA

The '*Tarikh-i-Khandan-i-Timuria*' in the Khuda Baksh Oriental Public Library, Patna (BIHAR)[1] is far from complete: it contains only 338 folios including 132 miniatures of which 16 miniatures are double-page-illustrations.[2] The manuscript is defective on both ends. It opens in the middle of introduction[3] and ends immediately after the account of Akbar's second compaign in Gujrat, in the 19th year of his reign (A.H. 981 = A.D. 1573).

The name of the author and the title of the work is not found in the text. The place where the manuscript was composed, is not known. Present copy deals with the History of Timur and his successors in Iran, and of Babur, Humayun and Akbar down to the 22nd. year of his reign. The history of 20th, 21st and 22nd years is wanting. In the beginning of the manuscript, author has praised '*Zafar Namah* - a well known history of Timur, written by Sharaf-ud-Din Ali Yazdi (A.H. 858 = A.D. 1454).

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1. Persian MS. No. 107.
2. Folios 16b-17a; 20b-21a; 23b-24a; 40a-40b; 44b-45a; 48b-49a; 53b-54a; 55b-56a; 61b-62a; 65b-66a; 67b-68a; 89b-90a; 103b-104a; 128b-129a; 131b-132a and 147b-148a.
3.

In the latter parts he often quotes the '<u>Tuzuk-i-Baburi</u>' as his source. It is found that the account of Sultan Hussain Mirza and the short sketches of all the famous men of his time (folios 233a - 236b) are taken exclusively from the said work.

While going through the manuscript one does not come across the headlines, whereas the spaces are left blank. There are several lacunae. The contents with the reference of folio number can be noted as follows :

Folio 7a	:	History opens with the Timur's march in search of Amir Husain.
Folio 12b	:	Timur's compaign in Samarqand.
Folio 20a	:	Timur's march against Kabul.
Folio 29a	:	Timur's expedition to Herat.
Folio 51b	:	Timur's march against Iraq & Faras.
Folio 70b	:	Timur's expedition to Hindustan.
Folio 102b	:	Timur's compaign in Bagdad.
Folio 134a	:	Death of Timur.
Folio 136b	:	Mirza Khalil's installation on the throne of Samarqand.
Folio 138a	:	History of Mirza Shah Rukh who assends the throne of Khurasan.
Folio 295b	:	Death of Humayun and accession of Akbar.
Folio 296b	:	Akbar's battle with Hemu, and the defeat and death of the latter.

Folio 301b : Bairam Khan's revolt.

Folio 312a : Akbar's compaign in Gujrat.

Folio 325a : Akbar's conquest of Chittore.

Folio 328a : Akbar obtains Ranthambore.

Folio 333a : Victory of Sarnal.

Folio 334a : Conquest of Surat.

Folio 335b : Akbar's second compaign in Gujrat and its conquest. (This event took place in the 19th year of Akbar's reign, A.H. 981 = A.D. 1573).

Manuscript is written in black ink in a beautiful Nastaliq handwriting on well processed paper. The sizes of the sheets vary: Sometimes the height exceeds 15¾ inches and sometimes it is below 11 inches, the width is from 10.5 inches to 6.5 inches. One full-page contains 21 lines and the space for calligraphy measures 15.7 x 26 cm.

Bands of lines are employed to decorate the borders on each folio. These lines vary from six to eight in number in the space of 0.5 cm.

The manuscript is remarkable for the number of illustrations, drawn by the artist's of the Akbar's court. On a few folios[4] name of painters are displayed out on the margins, whereas

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4. Folios 15a, 24a, 24b, 40, 40a, 40b, 42b, 55b, 56a, 113b, 145b and 157b.

70 are readable. Mostly these are written in red-ink, though a few in black.

Name of the articles :

(1) Aisar (2) Ali son of Mukhlish (3) Anant (4) Asi (5) Bahzad (6) Banwali (7) Banwali Khurd (8) Banwali Kalan (9) Banwari Kalan (10) Basawan (11) Bhagwan (12) Bhimjeo Gujrati (13) Bhura (14) Bundi (15) Chatermoni (16) Chetra (17) Devjeo (18) Devjeo Gujrati (19) Dhanno (20) Dharam Das (21) Farrukh Chela (22) Farrukh Kalan (23) Gang Sing (?) (24) Husain Naqqash (24a) Haider Kashmiri (25) Jagan (26) Jagannath (27) Jagjiwan (28) Kamal Kashmiri (29) Kesu (30) Kesu Kahar (31) Kesu Kalan (32) Khem (33) Khem Karan (34) Kheman Sangtrash (35) Lal (36) Lumanka (37) Madhu (38) Madhu Khurd (39) Madhu Kalan (40) Manohar (41) Miskin (42) Miskina (43) Mohammad Kashmiri (44) Mukhlis (45) Mukund (46) Mulla Sshah-Mohammad (47) Nama (48) Naman (49) Nanha (50) Nand-Gwaliari (51) Narain (52) Nar Singh (53) Paramjeo Gujrati (54) Paras (55) Ram Das (56) Sahu (57) Sarju Gujrati (58) Sanvalh (59) Sarvan (60) Shankar (61) Sur (62) Sarju Gujrati (63) Surdas (64) Suraij (65) Surjan (66) Surju (67) Tara (68) Tarayya (69) Tulsi Kalan.

Out of 132 illustrations 65 display the name of two artists. In such cases artist's name are followed with the words Tarah (Sketch or Drawing) and Amal (colouring or painting). Sometimes Range Amji

word is prefixed to the name. In a few cases the Tarah and Amal is by one artist and the Chehra nami (Face-Drawing) by another.

Pigments are yet fresh. Unfortunately a few paintings are damaged on margins. The whole manuscript is remargined, and bounded in a red-album decorated with a spray of ornamental motifs in the geometrical settings-drawn in gold pigment.

First fly-leaf of the copy bears 7 seals. One, extreme above in the right side is the seal of Shah Alam Bakshi Mohammad Ali and the second a little below to it, bears the sign of Shah Jahan Badshah. Rest seals are faded in condition. Besides the seal there are several Ard-didahs. Those are legible read thus:

1. Abdullah Chulpi
2. Khawaja Suhail
3. Khawaja Hilar
4. Abdul Gafur
5. Muhammad Baqir
6. Nur Muhammad

Second fly-leaf bears an autography of Shah-jahan.

List of the paintings of the manuscript- Tarikh-i-Khandan-i-Timuria.

Plate I : Folio 2b. Timur, when a child, is playing the king and other children are playing the part of

the darbaries ready to excenate his order. Sketch by Basawan; painted by Jagjiwan Kalan. (18 x27.5cm)

Plate II : Folio 3b. scene in a mosque, the Moazzim is calling the faithful to prayer. Sketch by Madho Kalan; painted by Tulsi Kalan. (28.4 x 17.2 cm)

Plate III : Folio 4b. Timur is holding a musical party. Sketch by Basawan; painted by Bhagwan. (17.3 x 29 cm)

Plate IV : Folio 5b. Timur is seated on the throne. Sketched and painted by Mullah Shah Mohammad.(17.3x27.5 cm)

Plate V : Folio 6b. Timur is returning from Amir Hussain's place. Sketch by Basawan, painted by Tara. (17.4 x 28.4 cm)

Plate VI : Folio 7b. Timur marches on to Amir Hussain whom he meets in a jungle and embraces. Sketch by Basawan; painted by Nand Gwaliyari.(21.5 x 32 cm)

Plate VII : Folio 8b. Timur, along with Amir Hussain marches on to Tukul Khan, the ruler of Hanuque. Amir Khan's charger is shot with an arrow, but his wife gets down and offers her own horse to her husband. Sketch by Surjan; painted by Basawan. (31.5 x 21 cm)

Plate VIII : Folio 9a. Qaramji, Amir Hussain's son arrived with a reinforcement of a hundred horsemen. Sketch by Basawan; painted by Surjan. (22.8 x 37 cm)

Plate IX : Folio 10b. An engagement between Timur and Ilyas Khan at Tash-Arlaghi, Simandar Uglam, Amir Hamid and Usuf Khaja are taken prisoners. Artist Khem. (22.5 x 37 cm).

Plate X : Folio 11b. Engagement between Ilyas Khan Uglam and Timur in which Timur was defeated and lost ten thousands men while crossing a marshy tract. Sketch by Kesu Kalan; painted by Surdas, son of Amir. (22.6 x 35.6 cm.)

Plate XI : Folio 14a. Timur marches onwards early in the morning eventually to check Amir Hussain's forces in the narrows of Khurm. Sketch by Tulsi Kalan; painted by Aisar.(22.6 x 33.6 cm).

Plate XII : Folio 15a. Timur reduces the fort of Quushi and defeats its governor Amir Musha. Artist's name is cut on the margin.(37.5 x 23 cm).

Plate XIII : Folio 16b. Timur with 600 men crossing the river Jaihan. Sketch by Basawan; painted by Bhimjeu Gujrati. (22 x 34.5 cm).

Plate XIV : Folio 17a. Timur crosses the river Jayhun to punish Nai ki Shah, the governor of Amuyah. Sketch by Basawan; painted by Shankar. (21.5 x 34 cm).

Plate No. XV	:	Folio 18a. Timur crossing Khujand river and attacks Jahan Shah in Rabat Mulk. Sketch by Kesu Kalan; painted by Bhagwan. (21.7 x 35 cm).
Plate XVI	:	Folio 18b. Malik Bahadur hurriedly retreats on the approach of Timur's army. Artist Bhagwan. (21.5 x 35 cm).
Plate XVII	:	Folio 20a. Amir Timur and Amir Hussain celebrating peace jointly at Qunduz. Sketch by Tulsi Kalan; painted by Ram Das (22.7x35.4 cm).
Plate XVIII	:	Folio 20b. Timur with some Badakshnai prisoners crossing a narrow pass. Sketch by Tulsi Kalan; painted by Banwali. (23.5 x 35.4cm).
Plate XIX	:	Folio 21a. A battle between Timur and the Badukshanis. Sketch by Tulsi Kalan; painted by Banwali Khurd. (21.9 x 34.8 cm).
Plate XX	:	Folio 22b. Amir Timur reducing the fort of Hinsuwas. Sketch by Lal, painted by Banwali Kalan. (23 x 36 cm).
Plate XXI	:	Folio 23b. Khatai Bahadur spurs his horse into the river and attacks the enemy single handed. Sketch by Lal; painted by Balwali Kalan. (24.4 x 31.7 cm.).

Plate XXII	:	Folio 24a. Shaikh Ali Bahadur scales the wall of the fort of Kat. (24.2 x 36.3 cm).
Plate XXIII	:	Folio 24b. Timur's army crossing the river Qarum to fight Hussain Sufi, the governor of Bokhara. (24.8 x 33.9 cm).
Plate XXIV	:	Folio 26b. An engagement between Timur and Qamruddin, the ruler of Jattah. Sketch by Jagan; painted by Nand Gwaliari (19.2 x 30 cm).
Plate XXV	:	Folio 28a. Timur calls Yusuf Sufi, the ruler of Khawarzam, to come out for duel fight. Sketch by Madhu Khurd; painted by Surjan. (22.5 x 35.5 cm).
Plate XXVI	:	Folio 28b. Khwaja Laq seeks help from Timur against his brother Matbarg Sufi. Sketch by Madhu Khurd; painted by Surjan. (22.3 x 35.6 cm).
Plate XXVII	:	Folio 30a. Malik Gheyasuddin receiving a role of honour from Amir Hussain at his darbar. Sketch by Basawan; painted by Nanha. (22.8 x 36 cm).
Plate XXVIII	:	Folio 32a. Timur's men were treacherously attacked by the army of Sistan. Sketch by Tulsi Kalan; painted by Narain. (22.2 x 34.4 cm).

Plate XXIX	:	Folio 37a. The fort of Wan-Wastan is besieged by Timur. Sketch by Madhu Khurd; painted by Bhagwan. (22.9 x 36.7 cm).
Plate XXX	:	Folio 38a. Timur orders a general massacre of the people of Isfahan. Sketch by Kesu; painted by Madhu Kalan.(22.5 x 37.5 cm).
Plate XXXI	:	Folio 40a. Timur, accepting the invitation of Sultan Mahmood, is on his way. (24 x 36.5 cm).
Plate XXXII	:	Folio 40b. Marriage scene; daughter of Sultan Mohammad are being married to Amirzada Mohammad Sultan, Mir Mohammad and Shah Rukh. (24.6 x 37.5 cm).
Plate XXXIII	:	Folio 42b. The scene of a big hunt in which Timur himself is taking part.(22.8 x 38 cm).
Plate XXXIV	:	Folio 44b. A battle scene between Miran Shah and the king of Sabyawar. Sketch by Lal; painted (Kar) by Bundi. (23.7 x 33.5 cm).
Plate XXXV	:	Folio 45a. Miran Shah encamps near Tus and grants an audience to the ruler of Tus. Sketch by Mukund; painted by Nama.(23.7 x 36 cm).
Plate XXXVI	:	Folio 46b. Timur got a stone tower erected in the forest of Baligh-Taque. Sketch by

Kesu; Painted by Surjan. (23 x 36.5 cm).

Plate XXXVII : Folio 48b. Amirzada Umar Sheikh, son of Timur advancing with a strong army to give battle to the governor of Sabzwar. Sketch by Madhu Khurd; painted by Bhagwan. (23.4 x 36 cm).

Plate XXXVIII : Folio 49a. An engagement between Timur and Tughtamish Khan, the governor of Sabzwar. Sketch by Kesu Kalan; painted by Surjan. (23.5 x 36 cm).

Plate XXXIX : Folio 51a. Timur lays siege to the fort of Sari on the river Qulmuz in Persia. Sketch by Mukund; painted by Banwari Kalan. (23.6 x 36.8 cm).

Plate XL : Folio 53b. A battle between Timur and Shah Mansur, the ruler of Qila-e-Sufid. Sketch by Basawan; painted by Dhanno.(21.3 x 33.5 cm).

Plate XLI : Folio 54a. Prince Shah Rukh has cast the head of Mansur at the feet of Timur's horse. Sketch by Basawan; painted by Bhura (21 x 33.5 cm).

Plate XLII : Folio 55b. Timur is standing on the bank of Tigris to cross the river on a boat. Artist's name is cut on the margin (Nama ?). (23.6 x 36.4 cm).

Plate XLIII : Folio 56a. Timur's soldiers are crossing the river Tigris. Artist's name is cut on the margin. (23.5 x 36.7 cm).

Plate XLIV : Folio 57b. Amir Hussain the governor of Mikrikh has been brought before Timur after the reduction of that fort. Sketch by Basawan; painted by Ali son of Mukhlis.(22.4 x 34.5 cm).

Plate XLV : Folio 58b. Timur orders the building of a tower with the heads of the slain and the demolition of the fort of Mikrik. Sketch by Basawan; painted by Kheman Sangtrash. (22.8 x 34.4 cm);

Plate XLVI : Folio 59b. Prince Umar Sheikh while intending to attack the fort of Hermut, receives an arrow shot in his neck which proves fetal. Sketch by Jagan; painted by Surjan.(21.9 x 35.5 cm).

Plate XLVII : Folio 60b. Carpets and tents are being spread over the ground as the ground has become extremely muddy and slippery due to rain. Sketch by Lal; painted by Ram Das.(24 x 36 cm).

Plate XLVIII : Folio 61b. Timur lays seize to the fort of Alataq. Sketch by Basawan; painted by Sarju Gujrati. (23 x 34.4 cm)

Plate XLIX : Folio 62a. The fort of Al-ataq is being attacked by Timur. Sketch by Basawan; painted by Paramjeu Gujrati.(23 x 34.3 cm).

Plate L : Folio 63b. Mirja Khwaja, the governor of fort Bala, sends his mother to Timur to secure a general amnesty. Sketch by Lal; painted by Surjan. (23 x 35.5 cm).

Plate LI : Folio 65b. A battle between Timur and Tughtamisch Khan at Qalichag. Sketch by Lal; painted by Naman. (23.2 x 35.3 cm).

Plate LII : Folio 66a. Prisoners of war of Qabechaq are brought before Timur. Sketch by Lal; painted by Mukhlis. (22.8 x 35 cm).

Plate LIII : Folio 67b. Timur divastating the rich valley of Al-burz mountains. (23.3 x 35.5 cm).

Plate LIV : Folio 68a. Timur takes by storm the fort of Kola and Taus. Sketch by Miskina; painted by Jagjiwan. (23 x 36 cm).

Plate LV : Folio 69a.
Sketch by Kesu Kalan; painted by Banwali Kalan. (22 x 35.7 cm).

Plate LVI : Folio 69b. A scene of massacre of the refugees in Mount-Al-burz. Timur's soldiers are on the boxes. Sketch by Kesu Kalan; painted by

Banwali Kalan. (22.2 x 36 cm).

Plate LVII : Folio 72a. Malka Agha Khanum, wife of Prince Shah Rukh grants an interview to Tukul Khanam, the daughter of Khizr Khwaja Aghlan. Sketch by Kesu Kalan; painted by Hussain Naqqash. (22.7 x 35 cm).

Plate LVIII : Folio 73a. Timur with his army is descending the snow covered Katur mountains. Artist Dharm Das. (22.8 x 36 cm).

Plate LIX : Folio 73b. Timur with hundred picked soldiers climbs to the top of a mountain to punish Seyah-Posh in his palace of refuge. Artist Dharm Das. (22.8 x 36 cm).

Plate LX : Folio 78a. Timur assaults the fort of Patnair. Artist Tarayya. (23.6 x 35.7 cm).

Plate LXI : Folio 80a. Battle between Mohammad, son of Firoze Shah Tughlaq, and Timur near Delhi. Sketch by Nar Singh (?); painted by Banwali Khurd. (25 x 37.5 cm).

Plate LXII : Folio 89b. Amirzada Miran Shah offers presents to Timur, in order to be excused for his mis-conduct. But Timur refusing the presents con-fiscates his property and imprisons his females.

Maulana Mohammad Kohisthani and Qutub Ali are hanged. Sketch by Farrukh Kalan; painted by Suraij Gujrati. (19.6 x 31.4 cm).

Plate LXIII : Folio 90a. The interview of Amirzada Abu Bakr, Amir Sulaiman and nobles of Miran Shah Timur in the fort of Umar Taman. Artist Paras. (23.5 x 35.4 cm).

Plate LXIV : Folio 97a. Timur seizing the fort of Aleppo. Sketch by Lal; painted by Dhanno. (22 x 36.3 cm).

Plate LXV : Folio 99a. Timur's fortified camp near Damaseas which was attacked by Egyptians from the river-side; Sultan Hussain, the governor of Egypt brought before Timur as prisoner. Sketch by Farrukh Kalan; painted by Suraij. (20.3 x 31.5 cm).

Plate LXVI : Folio 101a. Timur crossing the river Euphratis. Sketch by Farrukh Chela; painted by Surjan. (23.2 x 35 cm).

Plate LXVII : Folio 103b. Timur attacks Baghdad, Farrukh tries to escape with his daughter in a boat, but it serves as a target for Timur's archers and sinks at last with all its crews. Artist Madhu Kalan. (22.4 x 35.4 cm).

Plate LXVIII : Folio 104a. After the seize of Baghdad the learned men of the city appear in the court of Timur and are granted amnesty and pardon. Artist Kesu Kahar. (23.1 x 35.8 cm).

Plate LXIX : Folio 108b. Amirzada Khalil Sultan is attacking the fort of Manli on the river Tigris. Sketch by Farrukh Chela; painted by Narain. (23.2 x 34.6 cm).

Plate LXX : Folio 110b. Mirza Muhammad Sultan conquers the fort of Qamach after a seize of 10 days by Timur's order. Sketch by Miskin; painted by Bhura. (21.5 x 36.5 cm).

Plate LXXI : Folio 113b. A battle between Timur and Aildaram Bayazid. Artist's name is cut on the margin. (24 x 38 cm).

Plate LXXII : Folio 115a. Timur is storming the fort of Ajmer by means of cannon. Sketch by Miskin; painted by Anant. (22 x 34.8 cm).

Plate LXXIII : Folio 118a. The presentation of the sons of Smirzada Muhammad Sultan before Timur at a place called Unik. Sketch by Miskin; painted by Jagjiwan. (22.7 x 35.4 cm).

Plate LXXIV	:	Folio 121a. Sketch by Madho Khurd; painted by Suraij Gujrati. (21.8 x 34.8 cm).
Plate LXXV	:	Folio 122a. The king of Dudank agrees to pay Jizya; but those who had taken refuge in the caves are being put to death by Timur's soldiers, lowered down into the caves in boxes. Colouring (Rangamaji) by Chatermoni; face-drawing (Chehra-kushi) by Jagannath. (22 x 34.2 cm).
Plate LXXVI	:	Folio 123b. Amir Barqa, the governor of Hamdan hearing the death of Amirzada Mohammad Sultan, has come to offer his heart-felt condolence to Timur in his camp at Khazabag. Artist Miskin. (22.1 x 34.8 cm).
Plate LXXVII	:	Folio 126b. Timur receives Prince Umar Sheikh and bestows on him the governorship of Syria, Mesopotamia and Egypt. Artist Sur. (23.8 x 36 cm).
Plate LXXVIII	:	Folio 128b. Iskandar Sheikh, the ruler of Gilan, kills his wife and son and dies fighting sword in hand. Artist Sahu. (22.8 x 33 cm).
Plate LXXIX	:	Folio 129a. The newly appointed governor sends Iskandar Sheikh's head to Timur. Artist

Chetra. (23 x 35.7 cm).

Plate LXXX : Folio 131b. Amirzada Pir Muhammad is embraced by Timur. Sketch by Jagan; painted by Asi. (21.6 x 33.3 cm).

Plate LXXXI : Folio 132a. Mulgi Baqa, the ambassador of Egypt offers presents including an Egyptian Giraffe. Artist Kesu Kahar. (22 x 33.6 cm).

Plate LXXXII : Folio 134a. The death scene of Timur. Artist Jagjiwan. (24.2 x 36.7 cm).

Plate LXXXIII : Folio 136b. Mirza Khalil Sultan ascends the throne at Samarqand. Sketch by Tulsi Kalan; painted by Sarvan.(21.8 x 35.1 cm).

Plate LXXXIV : Folio 138b. Amirzada Shah Rukh takes the crown and proclaims himself king of Herat. Sketch by Jagan; painted by Mukhlis. (23 x 34.2 cm).

Plate LXXXV : Folio 140b. Mirza Umar invites his elder brother Abu Bakr to his tent and treacherously makes him prisoner. Artist Gang Singh (?). (22 x 34 cm).

Plate LXXXVI : Folio 143b. Abu Bakr escapes to Khurasan after killing his guards. Artist Devjeu Gujrati. (21.4 x 34 cm).

Plate LXXXVII	:	Folio 144b. Mirza Abu Bakr sets up Mirza Miran Shah on the throne. Artist Banwali Khurd. (22.6 x 35.2 cm).
Plate LXXXVIII	:	Folio 145b. A battle between Abu Bakr and Umar Sheikh. (24.8 x 36 cm).
Plate LXXXIX	:	Folio 146b. The murder of Mirza Sultan Hussain by one Nawsherwan Barlas. Artist Kamal Kashmiri. (21.6 x 35.5 cm).
Plate XC	:	Folio 147a. Mirza Khalil Sultan defeats Pir Mohammad in the battle of Nasf. Artist Kesu Kalan. (21.6 x 35.5 cm).
Plate XCI	:	Folio 148a. Mirza Shah Rukh is sending an ambassador to Mirza Khalil Sultan. Artist Banwali Kalan. (22.3 x 35 cm).
Plate XCII	:	Folio 149b. Mirza Pir Muhammad Sustains a defeat at the hand of Mirza Shah Rukh at Astrahad. Artist Kesu Kahar. (22.8x36.4 cm).
Plate XCIII	:	Folio 154b. Mirza Jahangir comes out of the fort of Samarqand to receive Mirza Shah Rukh. Artist Ram Das. (20 x 31.3 cm).
Plate XCIV	:	Folio 157b. Herqdad drags Sheikh Nuruddin sown his horse and kills him by the order of Amir Shah Mulk. Artist's name is cut on the

margin. (20.4 x 35.5 cm).

Plate XCV : Folio 154b. Mawdud, drawing his sword, falls upon Ali Timur Baluchi and his men. But Ali Timur's son shoots Mawdud in the back with his arrow. Artist Bahzad. (28.5 x 23 cm).

Plate XCVI : Folio 163b. Shah Rukh defeats Mirza Iskandar at Isfahan. Amir Ilyas, one of the generals of Shah Rukh is wounded while crossing the bridge. Artist Dharam Das. (23.2 x 35.5 cm).

Plate XCVII : Folio 165b. Mir Baistaqra Pays homage to Mirza Shah Rukh at Shiraz. Sketch and painted by Haider Kashmiri, face-drawing by Nanha. (21.5 x 36 cm).

Plate XCVIII : Folio 166b. Mirza Mohammad Jahangir and Mirza Mohammad Jagi are being entertained by Shah Rukh. Artist Bhimjeu Gujrati. (21.5 x 35.8 cm).

Plate XCIX : Folio 170b. Mirza Shah Rukh wins a victory over the sons of Qara Yusuf at Bakshi. Artist Paras (20.7 x 33 cm).

Plate C : Folio 177a. Ahmad was caught and killed for his attempt on the life of Mirza Shah

Rukh at Herat. Artist Mohammad Kashmiri. (21 x 35.8 cm).

Plate CI : Folio 178b. Mirza Shah Rukh receives the governor of Iran and Turan. Mohammad Jagi is making preparation to persue the enemy in accordance with the order of the Shah. Artist Dhanno. (22 x 34 cm).

Plate CII : Folio 182a. Mirza Fakhar pays homage to Shah Rukh. Artist Anant.(19.4 x 33.1 cm)

Plate CIII : Folio 186a. The coffin of Mirza Shah Rukh. Artist Bhagwan. (22.6 x 32 cm).

Plate CIV : Folio 193a. Mirza Abdullah wins a victory over Mirza Sultan Abu Sayeed in a battle near Samarqand. Artist Kesu Khurd. (22.4 x 33.3 cm).

Plate CV : Folio 194b. The head of Abdullah is being presented to Sultan Abu Sayeed after the defeat of Abdullah near Shiraz. Artist Ramdas. (20 x 32.8 cm).

Plate CVI : Folio 196b. Mirza Abu Sayeed gives a battle to Abul Quasim Babar Khurasmani in Samarqand. Amir Khalil and Maulana Ahmad Yaswal, the leaders of the Khurasmani are

brought in chain before Mirza Abu Sayeed. Artist Nand gwaliari. (21.2 x 33.2 cm).

Plate CVII	:	Folio 202a. A battle between Mirza Abu Sayeed and Aland-Daula near Sarakh. Artist Tulsi <u>Kalan</u>. (22.8 x 35.1 cm).
Plate CVIII	:	Folio 205b. Mirza Abu Sayeed gives a magnificient entertainment to his friends at Kankal. Painted by Khem Karan; face drawing by Madhu. (20.4 x 34.6 cm).
Plate CIX	:	Folio 206b. The ambassador of Mirza Yusuf is receiving permission from Sultan Abu Sayeed to return to his master. Painted by Anant; face drawing by Sanvlah. (21.5 x 35 cm).
Plate CX	:	Folio 226a. A battle between Badaruzzaman Mirza and Muzaffar Hussain Mirza. Artist Nand Gwaliari. (20.5 x 34.7 cm).
Plate CXI	:	Folio 227b. Sultan Hussain, after defeating Badaruzzaman who runs away to the Ghur hills, is receiving Masud Mirza; to whom he marries his daughter, Baigam Sultan, afterwards in recognition of his services. Artist Bhura. (20.5 x 35.3 cm).
Plate CXII	:	Folio 230a. Sultan Hussain is on his way to Herat. Amir Ali Shair has come to pay his

homage to him but becomes nervous and is being helped to steedy himself by two of his nobles. Artist Khem Karan.(20.7 x35.8cm).

Plate CXIII : Folio 238a. Amir Sultan Hussain goes out with his nobles and courtiers to receive his son Badruzzaman. The mother of Badruzzaman also accompanies her husband. Badruzzaman is being embraced by his father and forgiven for his rebellion. Sketched and painted by Nand Gwaliari, face-drawing by Manohar. (21 x 35 cm).

Plate CXIV : Folio 241b. Bhuruh Ughlam attacks the house of Yunus Khan, father-in-law of Amir Sultan Hussain, but is killed by Yunus Khan and his head is raised on the point of a spear. Artist Paras. (20.5 x 33.5 cm).

Plate CXV : Folio 246b. Mirza Zahiruddin Babar enters the fort of Samarqand at night with a small number of piched soldiers and after killing the door-keepers takes possession of it. Artist Khem. (19.8 x 33.4 cm).

Plate CXVI : Folio 248a. Mirza Zahiruddin Babar, being defeated by Shaibak Khan, crosses the river Kuhnak and proceeds to Samarqand. Artist

Banwari *Khurd*. (21 x 35.5 cm).

Plate CXVII : Folio 252a. Khan Mirza and Mohammad Hussain Mirza are brought before Babur in chain, but are pardoned on account of their close relationship to him. Painted by Mohammad Kashmiri; face-drawing by Mukund. (20.8 x 32.5 cm).

Plate CXVIII : Folio 253a. Shah Baig and Mohammad Muqim Arghun invite Babur to Kandhar with the intention of false with him. Babur goes to Khandhar, and after defeating has false hosts occupies the fort. Artist Kesu *Khurd*. (21 x 34.8 cm).

Plate CXIX : Folio 254a. Celebrating the birth of Humayun at Ark, Kabul. Artist Surju or Surjeo. (21.3 x 35.cm).

Plate CXX : Folio 260b. Mirza Kamran is being invested with the governorship of Qandhar. Artist Khem. (20.5 x 33.2 cm).

Plate CXXI : Folio 269a. A battle between Babur and Rajas of Hindustan (Madan Rai, Hasan Khan Mewati and Udai Singh) on the out-skirt of Khanwa. Artist Dhanno. (21.4 x 35.8 cm).

Plate CXXII : Folio 273b. Accession of Humayun to the throne of Delhi. In the *darbar*, Mirza Kamran

is standing before Humayun and receiving the governorship of Qandhar, Afghanistan and the Punjab. Artist Ram Das. (22.7 x 34.8 cm).

Plate CXXIII : Folio 276a. Shah Bahadur is being pursued by Humayun and his men. Artist Khem Karan. (21.8 x 35.5 cm).

Plate CXXIV : Folio 277b. Humayun, fearing treachery from Ikhtiyar Khan, governor of Champanir, enters the fort by night and occupies it. Artist Paras. (21.9 x 35.7 cm).

Plate CXXV : Folio 284a. Birth of Akbar. Turdi Beg Khan conveys the happy tidings to Humayun. Painted by Khem; face-drawing by Lal. (20.2 x 35.4 cm).

Plate CXXVI : Folio 322a. Akbar while hunting on the outskirts of Thaneshwar learns that a large fair is being held at Kola- city at a short distance from his hunting camp and goes to the place. The <u>jogis</u> and <u>Sannaysis</u> of the place, in accordance with their custom having divided themselves into two groups on the sun- ellipse day, were fighting with

swords and spears. Akbar helped the weaker party with some of his sword-men with the result that the party thus helped comes out of victories. The head of Jogis learning that Akbar is there goes forward to him and pays his homage. Painted by Jahjiwan; face-drawing by Miskina. (21.4 x 35.2 cm).

Plate CXXVII : Folio 323a. Akbar after defeating Ali Quli Khan, his rebellions general, is receiving his head. Bahadur Khan, the brother of Ali Quli Khan, and others are brought before him as prisoners. Bahadur Khan is pardoned by generous emperor. Artist Kesu Khurd. (21.9 x 35.6 cm).

Plate CXXVIII: Folio 326b. The seize of the fort of Chittore. Akbar is standing on the wooden structure built by him infront of the fort. Akbar discerns Jaimal, the Rajput chief, in the flash light of cannons, takes aim and shoots him down the parapets. Artist Paras. (21.6 x 35 cm).

Plate CXXIX : Folio 328b. Surjan Singh the governor of Ranthambhore-comes with presents to pay his

homage to Akbar, during the interview submits the keys of the fort to him. Artist Devjeo. (20.6 x 33.6 cm).

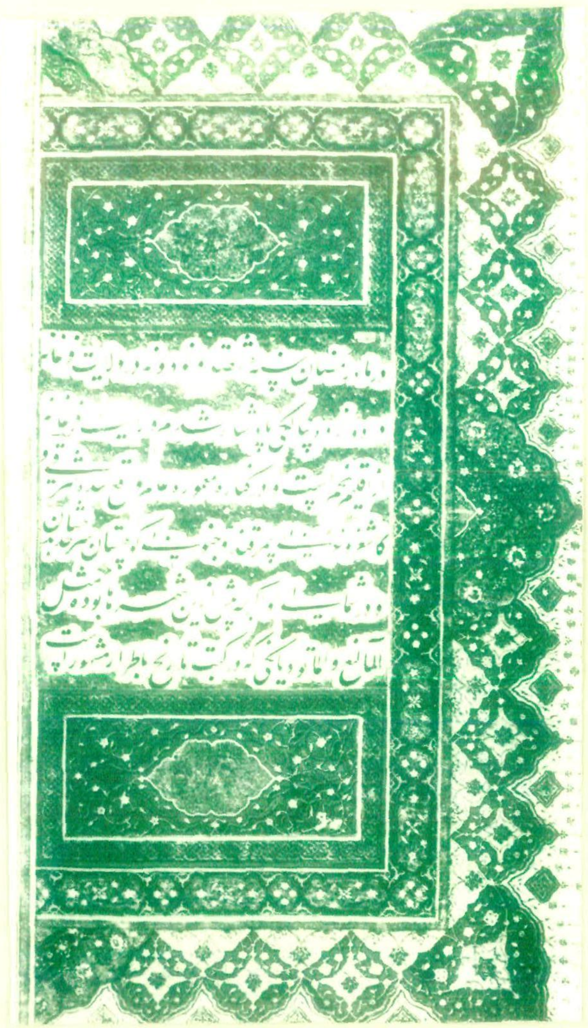
Plate CXXX : Folio 331a. Akbar on his way to Pakpatan comes across a large number of wild asses of which he bags sixteen. Artist Lumanka. (20 x 32.5 cm).

Plate CXXXI : Folio 333b. A battle between Akbar and Ibrahim Hussain Mirza, the governor of the district of Sarnal. Ibrahim sustain a severe defeat. Artist Banwari Khurd. (22.2 x 34.6 cm).

Plate CXXXIII : Folio 337b. A battle between Akbar and Mohammad Hussain, king of Gujrat. Akbar takes leading part in the battle and inflicts a severe defeat on the Gujratis. Artist Kesu Khurd . (22.2 x 35.3 cm).



PLATE CXXV



CXXV

Appendix 7

Tuzuk-i-Baburi

(a) National Museum, Delhi-Manuscript

The Delhi manuscript is a collection of loose sheets. In all it contains 145 painted folios of which only 54 bear the names of the artists which are 40 in number. 55 paintings are unsigned while the rest have the names either written illegibly or have got half eleminated at the time of cutting out the margins.

Plate No.	Theme	Folio No.	Artist's name.
1.	Traders in Kandbadam	4	Surdas
2.	A deserted place near Kunjand	-	Surdas
3.	Babur meets Royal ladies	-	-
4.	Babur with his nobles in Andjan	-	-
5.	Nobles greet Babur	-	Cut on margin
6.	Sultan Ahmad Mirza's army crossing the river.	16	x
7.	Babur's camp near Andjan	x	x
8.	Babur meets to Isn Daulat Begum.	x	Sarwan
9.	Babur meets to Isn Daulat Begum.	x	x
10.	Submission of Baqi Chighaniani to Babur.	x	Naqi khanazad
11.	Seige of a fort in Sahrukhia	x	x
12.	Battle near Hisar	x	Shivdas

Plate No.	Theme	Folio No.	Artist's name.
13.	Submission of a noble to Babur.	x	x
14.	Battle near the foot hills of Ambarkot.	x	x
15.	Babur greeted by his nobles	x	x
16.	Babur at Khayaban during the expedition.	x	Cut on margin
17.	Submission of a rebellion to Babur.	16	Illegible
18.	An expedition scene	x	x
19.	Nobles greet Babur	x	Cut on margin
20.	Illness of Babur	x	x
21.	Babur at conversation with his nobles.	58	Miskin
22.	Jahangir Mirza and Tambal being driven out by the citizens of Oush.	60	Madhav
23.	Tambal's brother submitting to Babur.	x	x
24.	Submission of a rebellion to Babur.	x	Khem Karan
25.	Battle Scene.	x	Dharmdas
26.	A battle.	x	Jamal
27.	Babur with his nobles in a camp.	x	x
28.	Capture of Samarkand by Babur	78	Sarvan
29.	Babur fallen from the horse	60/61	x
30.	Arrival of nobles from Taskand.	29	Cut on margin

Plate No.	Theme	Folio No.	Artist's name.
31.	An expedition scene	91	Nand Kumar
32.	Submission of a noble	93/301	Cut on margin
33.	Battle scene	x	" " "
34.	Battle scene	98/303	Bhagwan
35.	Mirza Ahmad Ibrahim Beg submitting to Babur.	26/38	Lachman
36.	Babur changed his horse from Sultan Muhammad Ovis.	103/29	Asi
37.	Babur changing his horse.	106	Mahesh
38.	Khusro Shah submitting to Babur in Doshi.	x	Cut on margin
39.	An expedition scene	114	Mohammad Kashmiri
40.	Babur at conversation with his nobles.	x	Khem
41.	A garden scene	124	Bhagwan
42.	Babur supervising the construction of a tank.	126/401	Gujrati
43.	Babur outside with his nobles.	127/42	Prem (?)
44.	Bird - trapper.	45	Payag.
45.	Battle scene.	x	Bhavani
46.	Babur enjoying the music	136	illegible
47.	Babur outside with his noble.	x	Gujrati

Plate No.	Theme.	Folio No.	Artist's name.
48.	Camp.	138	Daulat
49.	A battle	143	Nand Gwaliari
50.	Army crossing the river	x	-
51.	Army crossing the river	x	Khem Karan
52.	Siege	51	Bhagwan
53.	Babur with Muzaffar Husain Mirza, Badiuzzaman Mirza, and Abdul Husain.	58	x
54.	Babur with his nobles	173/43/84	x
55.	Babur meets to Pianda Sultan Begum, Khadija Begum, Afaq Begum and daughters of Sultan Abusaid Mirza in the *madarsa* of Sultan Husain Mirza.	54	Cut on margin
56.	Babur meets to Pianda Sultan Begum and Khadija Begum in the *madarsa* of Sultan Husain Mirza.	177	x
57.	Feast.	x	Cut on margin
58.	A battle scene.	x	Cut on margin
59.	Babur outside with his nobles.	186	x
60.	Babur outside in the night near Kohmanar.	x	x
61.	A scene from Kohmanar	188/63	Cut on margin
62.	Babur in his court.	71	x

Plate No.	Theme.	Folio No.	Artist's name
63.	Hunting into *ghera*	x	Lachman
64.	Hunting into *ghera*	195/63	Cut on margin
65.	An expedition scene-Badiuzzaman Mirza, Muzaffar Mirza and Md. Brunduqa Barlas in the zunnun arghun with their army	64/196	" " "
66.	Battle field	65/202	x
67.	Battle scene	66	x
68.	Babur visiting the camp.	205	Cut on margin
69.	An expedition scene	x	" " "
70.	Rebellion's submission to Babur.	69/72/208	Dhannu.
71.	Babur sitting on a raft.	73	x
72.	Babur enjoying a feast.	71/211/74	x
73.	Seige.	75	illegible
74.	Rhinoceros's hunt.	76	Keshav(Kahar ?)
75.	Army crossing the river at Khajkoat.	74/283	Govind
76.	Babur outside in the night.	72	Cut on margin
77.	Nobles greeting Babur.	76/228/-	Daulat
78.	Kasim Beg and Mulla Zamaini submit to Babur.	20	Cut on margin

Plate No.	Theme.	Folio No.	Artist's name.
79.	Babur sitting on a raft.	71	Govind
80.	Hunting into ghera	71/72	x
81.	Rhinoceros's hunt.	x	x
82.	Babur with his nobles.	81/149	x
83.	Battle scene.	82(?)	Cut on margin
84.	Battle scene.	83/257	" " "
85.	Battle field.	x	x
86.	Battle field	262/85	Cuts on margin
87.	Seige.	86/264	x
88.	Elephants in Kalpi	90	Cut on margin
89.	A deer and Nila-gau	81/271	x
90.	A chital	x	x
91.	Black buck and deers	89/292	Mahesh (?)
92.	Kalahara	13	Ibrahim Kahar
93.	Ox and monkies.	209/273	Cut on margin
94.	Peacock, Sarus and Squirrel.	91	Bhavani
95.	Peacocks	97	x
96.	Quil and parrot	92	Ibrahim

Plate No.	Thema.	Folio No.	Artist's name.
97.	Maina and Shark	93/276	Payag
98.	Partridges	x	Illegible
99.	Partridges	277/94	x
100.	Partridges	x	x
101.	Cock and other birds	95/109/ 278	Asikahar
102.	Birds	x	x
103.	Duck, and Sarus	96	Bande
104.	Flamingo	16	x
105.	Sarus	97/113/ 280	x
106.	Birds	x	x
107.	Birds	98/281	Bhavani
108.	Birds	x	Anant
109.	Birds	99/383	Fattu
110.	Parrot, fish, crocodile	133	x
111.	Tapir and crocodile	283	Asi
112.	Fish	133	x
113.	Fish	129/284	Launga

Plate No.	Theme.	Folio No.	Artist's name
114.	Tree	x	x
115.	Plantain-tree	12/123/285	Assi quli
116.	Trees	x	x
117.	Tree	13/286	Bhura
118.	Tree	x	x
119.	Tree	14/287	Hajra
120.	Tree	x	x
121.	Palm tree	288/15	Launga
122.	Narial tree	16/289	Anant
123.	Tree	17/290	Tulsi
124.	Tree	x	x
125.	Tree	x	x
126.	Tree	18/291	Asi
127.	Tree	x	Asi
128.	Tree	19/292	Dharam Das Nanda
129.	Tree	11/293	x
130.	Tree	x	x
131.	Noble's submission to Babur	x	Anand (?)

Plate No.	Theme.	Folio No.	Artist's name.
132.	Nobles in the palace	171/112/301	x
133.	Battle field	x	x
134.	Battle field	346	x
135.	Boat expedition	115	x
136.	Seige	119/336	Illegible
137.	Babur visiting a fort	176	Bhura
138.	Babur enjoying the feast	118/177	Illegible
139.	Animal fight	119/352	Banwari Khurd
140.	Babur at conversation with his nobles	x	x
141.	Babur with his nobles	12/179	x
142.	Babur with his nobles	121/364	x
143.	Boat expedition	81/122	x
144.	Submission of a noble to Babur.	81/122	x
145.	Babur in his court with nobles.	13	x

(b) British Museum manuscript

There are 116 painted folios in it - the signed ones bearing the names of 54 different artists. The manuscript measures

23.5 x 33 cms., while the paintings vary at an average of 28 x 15.5 cms.

Plate No.	Theme.	Folio No.	Artist's name
1.	Court Scene	2	x
2.	Traders in Kandbadam	6	Bhura
3.	A deserted place near Kunduz	7	Tirpal
4.	Babur meets his sister at Kunduz	13	Farrukh Chela
5.	Crossing the river Siyah Ab	22	Surjan
6.	Loot in Uskand (a city in Fargana).	23	Nand Gwaliari
7.	Babur outside the fort	31	x
8.	Baqi Chighaniaiani meets Babur	35	Bhim Gujrati
9.	Submission of nobles	44	Sur(das ?) or Suraj
10.	An expedition scene	52	Bhavani
11.	Submission of rebellions	54	Paras
12.	An expedition	59	x
13.	Illness of Babur	70	Nana
14.	Babur in his court	80	Nana
15.	Babur outside with his nobles	83	Shivdas

Plate No.	Theme.	Folio No.	Artist's name.
16.	Jahangir Mirza and Tambal being driven out by the citizens of Oush.	84	x
17.	A battle scene	94	Amal- Tirya and outline by Tulsi
18.	Arrival of nobles from Taskand.	128	Tilok
19.	Submission to Babur	133	Sanvla
20.	A battle scene	137	Ibrahim Kahar
21.	Submission of Shera rebellion.	163	Narsingh
22.	Garden scene	173	Dhanno
23.	Babur supervising a construction in a garden.	x	Mahesh
24.	Construction of a tank	x	Mahesh
25.	Bird - trapper	190	Shyam
26.	Departure of Jahangir Mirza near Chhattu.	194	Paras
27.	An expedition scene	195	Bhagwan
28.	Babur visiting Barkalni and Bakram.	196	Jagannath
29.	The saint Gorakhkhatri in Bakram.	199	Govind
30.	Imperial army crossing the Aral river.	204	Dhanraj
31.	Nobles presenting gifts to Babur.	208	Bhim Gujrati

Plate No.	Theme	Folio No.	Artist's name.
32.	Babur with his nobles	252	Shankar
33.	Preparation of a feast	253	Banwari Kalan
34.	Babur meets Pianda Begam, Khadija Begam in the Sultan Husain's madarsa.	256	Khijra Chela
35.	Feast at Khadija Begam's residence.	257	Jamshed Chela
36.	Nobles' feast	260	Tirya
37.	An expedition scene	270	Banwari Khurd.
38.	A battle field	271	Amal Tirpal, corrected by Sanvlah
39.	Babur at Kabul in winter	273	(Dharam or Ram ?) Das.
40.	Babur assulting a fort in Kabul.	274	Tirya
41.	Babur enjoying the music	279	Shankar Gujrati
42.	Babur hunting by sword	283	Manohar
43.	Animals into hunting circle	284	Abdullah
44.	A battle scene	285	Mukhlis
45.	Babur enjoying a feast	295	Sur Gujrati
46.	Submission of rebellions	299	Paras

Plate No.	Theme.	Folio No.	Artist's name.
47.	Rhinoceror's hunt	305	Dhanraj
48.	Babur greeted by chiefs	306	Banwari Khurd
49.	Babur returning back in night	314	Shankar Gujrati
50.	Indian Saints	x	Keshav Khurd
51.	Submission of a noble to Babur.	322	Bhagwan
52.	Babur sitting on a raft	333	Payag
53.	Babur hunting a deer	347	Paras
54.	Rhinoceros's hunt by the Prince Humayun	351	Shivdas
55.	Hunt of rhinoceroses	352	Jagannath
56.	A battle scene	368	Dev Gujrati
57.	Elephants in Kalpi	378/(398 ?)	x
58.	Rhinoceroses	379	Makra
59.	Wild buffalo	380	Sarwan
60.	Chital	x	Pidarath
61.	Black buck and deer	381	x
62.	Fight of black bucks	x	Ramdas

Plate No.	Theme.	Folio No.	Artist's name.
63.	Bull, deer and black buck	382	Shyam
64.	Monkies	x	Shyam
65.	Peacock, Squirells	x	Jagannath
66.	Parrot	x	Keshav Gujrati
67.	Kuil	x	Narayan
68.	Maina	x	Dhanno
69.	Birds	x	Husain Naqqash
70.	Partridge	x	Mansur Naqqash
71.	Partridge	x	Mansur Naqqash
72.	Cock	x	" "
73.	Titar	x	" "
74.	Kharchil	x	" "
75.	Birds	x	Dhanno
76.	Sarus crane	390	Surya Gujrati
77.	" "	x	" "
78.	" "	391	Shankar Gujrati

Plate No.	Theme.	Folio No.	Artist's name.
79.	Ducks	392	Shankar Gujrati
80.	Birds	x	" "
81.	Birds	393	Pidarath
82.	Birds	x	Dhanno
83.	Tapir and crocodile	394	Sarwan
84.	" " "	x	"
85.	Fish	395	Shankar Gujrati
86.	Frogs	x	Launga
87.	A mango tree	396	Surjan
88.	Palm tree	x	"
89.	Tree	397	Shyam
90.	Tree	x	Shyam
91.	Tree	398	Tulsi Khurd
92.	Trees	x	" "
93.	Tree	399(?)	Mani or Muni
94.	Trees	x	" "
95.	Trees	400	Iqbal Naqqash

Plate No.	Theme.	Folio No.	Artist's name.
96.	Tree	x	Sarwan
97.	Palm tree	401	Khusro Kuli
98.	Palm trees	402	Pidarath
99.	Tree	x	Shankar Gujrati
100.	Trees	404	" "
101.	Tree	405	Ibrahim Kahar
102.	Tree	x	" "
103.	Trees	406	Keshav Gujrati
104.	Trees	x	" "
105.	Trees	x	Ibrahim Naqqash
106.	Babur in his court	417	Bhura
107.	Nobles outside the palace	418	x
108.	A battle scene	453	Mahesh
109.	Noble's submission to Babur.	459	Pidarath
110.	Seige	468	Bhavani
111.	Babur visiting Gwalior fort.	478	Dhanraj

Plate No.	Theme	Folio No.	Artist's name.
112.	Babur at conversation with his nobles.	x	Tulsi the elder
113.	Animal fight.	492	Bhavani
114.	Adventure of a fish	504	Khem
115.	Babur in his court	520	Ramdas
116.	Noble's submission to Babur	522	Nand Gwalari

(c) Moscow manuscript

Only 69 pages with illustrations of the manuscript could be obtained.[1] On these paintings the names of the artists do not appear. These miniatures have been published by the State Fine Arts, Moscow in 1960.[2] Paintings are listed with their themes in sequence of the historical events. Of these 19, illustrate Babur's activities in Central Asia, 10 cover the Afghan period and 40 display his life in

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1. "It was brought by a private collector from Persian merchants at the Nizhmi-Nagorod(New Gorky) fair. The manuscript itself was not obtained, the collector getting hold of only 69 pages with illustrations. These were latter in possession of I.I.Shchukin, the famous Russian collector of Oriental art subjects." Indian Art in Soviet Collection, p. 21

2. Miniatures of Babur Namah (1960).

the Northern India. In the latter 28 miniatures of the flora and fauna of India are drawn which were described by Babur in his Memoirs.

Plate No.	Theme.
1.	Babur meets his sister at Kundaz. Event of 1511.
2.	Babur arrives at the gates of the fortess in Andijan (Ferghana). Event of June 9, 1494.
3.	Begs gather to discuss the question of power in Ferghana after the death of Babur's father. Event of 1494.
4.	Confusion among the troops of Sultan Ahmad Mirza on the Bridge at Koba. Event of 1494.
5.	The battle of uzgend when Aba-Bekr Duglat attempted to seize Ferghana. Event of 1494.
6.	A captured rebel brought beforé Babur. Event of 1494.
7.	Rebellions Emir Husan- Yaqub feels from a hunt to Samarkand. Event of 1494-1495.
8.	Reconcilliation of Babur with Sultan Ali Mirza at the Kohlik River during the siege of Samarkand. Event of 1496.
9.	An encounter at the walls of Samarkand beleaguered by Babur. Event of 1496-1497.
10.	Babur receives chieftains after he marched into Samarkand for the first time in November of 1497.

Plate No.	Theme.
11.	Captive Uzbeks brought before Babur after the battle with Tambal at Huban (Ferghana). Event of 1499-1500.
12.	Babur's horsemen engage the troops of Tambal at the fortess of Bishkharan. Event of 1499-1500.
13.	To the description of the same battle with Tambal at Bishakharan.
14.	Babur's warriors massacre the citizens of Samarkand after the second seizure of the city. Event of 1500.
15.	Babur and his two chieftains during their retreat from Samarkand. Event of 1501-1502.
16.	Consecration of the banner by Babur's grandfather, a Mongol Khan, before setting out of war. Event of 1501-1502.
17.	Babur is greeted by his cousins, Chinguizide Sultan Seid-Khan and Baba-Khan Sultan. Event of 1502-1503.
18.	Jehangir-Mirza arrives at Ahsi to see Babur who is in the bath-house. Event of 1502-1503.
19.	Babur changes his horse during his flight from Ahsi. Event of 1502-1503.
20.	Khosrou Shah kneels in submission to Babur. Event of 1504-1505.
21.	Babur watches the bed of the aryk being straightened in his garden in Istalif at Kabul. Event of 1504-1505.

Plate No.	Theme.
22.	Catching birds with a net in Kabul District. Event of 1504-1505.
23.	Babur feasts in the palace of Muzaffar-Mirza in the 'White Garden' in Herat. Event of 1506-1507.
24.	Babur feast in 'Jahan-Ara' garden in Herat on a visit to Badi-uz-zaman Mirza. Event of 1506-1507.
25.	Scene after Babur's hunt in the valley of Kattavaz. Event of 1507-1508.
26.	Babur hunts in the valley of Kattavaz at Kabul. Event of 1507-1508.
27.	Uzbeks attack the envoys bringing gifts from the traitor Shah Mansur. Event of 1507-1508.
28.	Turkmen Peri Beg and his brothers desert to Babur during the battle of Kandhar. Event of 1507-1508.
29.	Counting the booty captured by Babur in Kandhar. Event of 1507-1508.
30.	Babur's troop assault the Indian fortess of Badjaur. Event of January 7, 1519.
31.	Inhabitants of Nilab offer gifts to Babur. Event of 1519.
32.	Babur returns to camp after a night feast in a boat. Event of 1519.

Plate No.	Theme.
33.	Babur on a raft floating down the Panjhra river. Event of 1519.
34.	Babur sets out on an expedition. Event of 1525-26.
35.	Babur enters the palace of Sultan Ibrahim in Agra after the capture of the town. Event of 1525-1526.
36.	Rhinoceroses. In the section of Babur's description of Indian flora and fauna. Event of 1525-1526.
37.	Antelopes, (In the same section)
38.	Fight of the black bucks, (In the same Section).
39.	Parrot and other birds, (In the same section)
40.	Birds.
41.	Mountain goats and partridges.
42.	Birds of India.
43.	Birds of India.
44.	Birds of India.
45.	Crocodile and tapir in water.
46.	Hunting an alligator.

Plate No.	Theme.
47.	Fish.
48.	Trees.
49.	Trees.
50.	Trees.
51.	Tree and foxes.
52.	Trees.
53.	Trees.
54.	Trees.
55.	Trees and foxes.
56.	Trees and foxes.
57.	Palm and other trees.
58.	Tree.
59.	Trees.
60.	Tree.
61.	Trees.
62.	Trees.
63.	Trees and foxes.

Plate No.	Theme.
64.	Presentation of awards at the reception arranged by Babur on the occasion of the victory over Sultan Ibrahim and the capture of Agra. Event of 1525-1526.
65.	Babur at a spring in Sunkar. Event of 1526-1527.
66.	Seizure of the Chandiri fortess. Event of 1528.
67.	To the description of the sights in Gwalior and Urva. Events of 1528-1529.
68.	Babur feasts in the palace of Sultan Jelar-ad-Din in Karre. Event of 1528-29.
69.	Babur's journey down the Ganges and the adventure with the fish. Event of 1528-1529.

Appendix No. 8

List of the similar themes of the Tuzuk-i-Baburi

Themes	Painting's reference
1.	Traders in Kandbadam - Tuzuk, (Delhi) f. 4, artist Surdas; (BM) f.6, artist Bhura.
2.	A deserted place near Kujand - Tuzuk, (Delhi) f.-, artist Surdas; (BM) f.7, artist Harpal.
3.	Sultan Ahmad Mirza's army crossing the river - Tuzuk, (Delhi) f. 16, Artist-; (BM) f. 22, artist Surjan.
4.	Babur meets to Isan Daulat Begum - Tuzuk (Delhi), f.-, artist Sarvan; (BM) f. 13, artist Farrukh Chela.
5.	Submission of Baqi Chighaniani to Babur - Tuzuk, (Delhi) f.-, artist Naqi Khanazad; (BM) f. 35, artist Bhim Gujrati.
6.	Submission of Shera rebellion-Tuzuk, (Delhi) f.16, artist -; (BM) f.163, artist Narsingh.
7.	Garden scene - Tuzuk, (Delhi) f. 124, artist Bhagwan; (BM) f. 173, artist Dhanno.
8.	Bird catcher - Tuzuk, (Delhi) f. 45, artist Payag; (BM) f. 190, artist Shyam; (Moscow) pl.22; and (Fog Art Museum), see plate ________.

Themes

9. Arrival of nobles from Taskand - Tuzuk(Delhi) f.29, artist -;(BM) f. 128, artist Tilok.

10. Babur enjoying the music and dance - Tuzuk;(Delhi) f. 163, artist --;(BM) f. 274, artist Tirya.

11. Babur meets Pianda Begam, Khadija Begam in the Sultan Hussain's madarsa - Tuzuk,(Delhi) ff.54 and 177, artist-; (BM) f.256, artist Khijra Chela.

12. Feast at Khadija Begam's residence - Tuzuk,(Delhi) f. --; artist--;(BM) f.257, artist Jamshed Chela.

13. Babur meets his sister at Kunduz - Tuzuk,(BM) f. 13, artist Farrukh Chela; (Moscow) pl.1.

14. Hunting into ghera - Tuzuk,(Delhi) f.--, artist Lachman;(BM) f.283 artist Manohar and f.284 artist Abdullah;(Moscow) pl.26.

15. Babur sitting on a raft - Tuzuk,(Delhi) f.71, artist Govind;(BM) f. 333, artist Payag;(Moscow) pl. 33.

16. Rhinoceros's hunt - Tuzuk,(Delhi) f.76, artist Keshav (Kahar ?); (BM) f. 305, artist Dhanraj.

17. Rhinoceros's - Tuzuk,(BM) f.379, artist Makra;(Moscow) pl.36.

18. Rhinoceros's hunt - Tuzuk, (Delhi) f.-, artist--; (BM) f. 352, artist Jagannath.

Themes

19. Elephants in Kalpi - Tuzuk, (Delhi) f. 90, artist--; (BM) f. 378, artist ---.

20. Illness of Babur - Tuzuk, (Delhi) f.--, artist--; (BM) f.70, artist Nana.

21. Babur journeys down the Ganges - Tuzuk, (Delhi) f -, artist --; (BM) f. 504, artist ---; (Moscow) pl.69.

22. Babur changes his horse from Sultan Muhammad Ovis during his flight from Ahsi - Tuzuk, (Delhi) f.103, artist Asi and f. 106, artist Mahesh; (Moscow) pl.19.

23. Construction of a tank - Tuzuk, (Delhi) f.--, artist Gujrati; (BM) f.--, artist Mahesh.

24. Babur visiting the palace of Jalal Khan near Agra - Tuzuk, (Delhi) f. 176, artist Bhura; (BM) f. 478, artist ---.

25. Seige of a fort in Sahrukhia - Tuzuk, (Delhi) f.--, artist-; (BM) f. 468, artist--.

26. Jahangir Mirza and Tambal being driven out by the citizens of Oush - Tuzuk, (Delhi) f. 60, artist Madhav; (BM) f.84, artist ---.

27. Babur's horsemen engage the troops of Tambal at fortress of Bishkharan - Tuzuk, (BM) f.453, artist --; (Moscow) pls. 12 and 13.

28. Parrot - Tuzuk, (BM) f.--, artist Keshav Gujrati; (Moscow) pl. 39.

Themes

29.	Black buck and deers -	*Tuzuk*, (Delhi) f.--, artist Madhav (?); (BM) f.381, artist --; (Moscow) pl. 37.
30.	Fight of two black bucks -	*Tuzuk*, (BM) f.--, artist Ramdas; (Moscow) pl. 38.
31.	Monkies -	*Tuzuk*, (BM) f.--, artist Shyam, (Delhi) f.--, artist ---.
32.	Tapir and crocodile -	*Tuzuk* (Delhi) f. 283, artist Asi; (BM) f. 394, artist Sarwan; (Moscow) pl.45.
33.	Partridges -	*Tuzuk* (Delhi) 3 folios -plate 98, 99, 100; (BM).f--,artist Mansur Naqqash; (Moscow) pl. 41.
34.	Fish -	*Tuzuk*, (Delhi) f. 133, artist- and f. 129/284, artist Launga; (BM) f. 395, artist Shankar Gujrati; (Moscow) pl. 47.
35.	Saras -	*Tuzuk*, (Delhi) f.--, artist-; (BM) f. 390, artist Surya Gujrati and f. 391, artist Shankar Gujrati; (Moscow) pl. 44.
36.	Palm tree -	*Tuzuk*, (Delhi) f.--, artist Launga, f.--,artist Annant; (BM) f.-,artist Surjan f.401, artist Pidarath;(Moscow) pls. 49, 57.

There are a few more *taswirs* of similar trees and birds painted in the manuscripts of the Delhi, British Museum and Moscow.

APPENDIX NO. 9

List of the painters of the Mughal's court under Akbar with their principle works

1.	Abdullah	:	Tuzuk; pl. 43 (B.M.).
2.	Abdus Samad Sayyid	:	(Ain); Darab (B.M.); D.P.Niz; Bodbin Library, Ousley Add. 172 fol.4.
3.	Abu Samad Sayyid	:	" " " " "
4.	Ahmad	:	Akb. ff. 23,133,134 (C.B.); pl.49 (V.A.); Tuzuk (Bod.).
5.	Ahmad Kashmiri	:	Razm; pls. 19,20 (Baroda).
6.	Aiser or Ishar	:	Akb; pl. 34 (V.A.); Tarikh; 149 (Patna).
* 7.	Alam	:	Wan.
8.	Ali son of Mukhlis	:	Tarikh; f. 57b (Patna).
9.	Anand	:	Tuzuk; pl. 131 (Delhi).
* 10.	Anant brother of Miskin	:	Akb; f. 32 (C.B.); Anwar; f. 242 (Varanasi); Tarikh; ff. 115a, 182a, 206b (Patna); Tuzuk; pls. 108, 122 (Delhi).
11.	Anis	:	Razm; pls. 14, 95, 117 (Jaipore).
12.	Anup Chhatar	:	Bod. Lib; Ouseley Add. 173 fol. 26.

13.	Asi or Assi brother of Miskin	: <u>Akb</u>; pls. 62, 100 (V.A.); : <u>Tarikh</u>; f. 131b (Patna); <u>Tuzuk</u>; pls. 36,111, 126,127 (Delhi).
14.	Asi Kahar	: <u>Tuzuk</u>; pl. 101 (Delhi).
15.	Assi Quli	: <u>Tuzuk</u>; pl. 115 (Delhi).
16.	Babu	: <u>Razm</u>; pl. 21 (Jaipore).
17.	Babu Naqqash	: <u>Akb</u>; pl. 106 (V.A.)
18.	Babu Ustad	: Bod. Bah.
19.	Bahasan	: <u>Razm</u>; pl.28 (Baroda).
20.	Bahzad	: <u>Tarikh</u>; f. 154b (Patna).
21.	Bande	: <u>Tuzuk</u>; pl. 103 (Delhi).
22.	Basawan	: <u>Akb</u>; pls. 17, 18, 21, 22, 24, 50, 61, 62, 81 (V.A.); <u>Anwar</u>; f. 5 (Varanasi); <u>Razm</u>; pls. 7, 10, 12, 14, 21, 22, 34,40,50,53,59,64,65,70,76, 81,84,106,112,113,115,117,120, 121,122,126,127,130,145 (Jaipore); <u>Tarikh</u>; ff. 4b,6b, 7b,8b,9a,16b,17a,30a,53b,54a, 57b,58b,61b,62a(Patna).

23.	Balchand	:	Akb; ff. 152,153 (C.B.); Bod. Tuzuk; Wan.
24.	Banwali	:	Tarikh; f. 20b (Patna).
25.	Banwali Khurd	:	Razm; pls. 13,48,98 (Jaipore); Tarikh; ff. 21a, 80a,144b (Patna); Tuzuk; pl. 139 (Delhi).
26.	Banwali Kalan	:	Akb; pls. 11,90,104 (V.A.); Tarikh; ff. 22b,23b,69a,69b,148a (Patna).
27.	Banwari	:	Razm; pls. 26,27,51,52,104,105 (Jaipore).
28.	Banwari Khurd	:	Razm; pl. 12 (Baroda); Tarikh; ff. 248a,33b (Patna); Tuzuk; pls. 37,48 (B.M.).
29.	Banwari Kalan	:	Tarikh; f. 51a (Patna); Tuzuk, pl. 33 (B.M.).
30.	Bhagwan	:	Akb;pls. 49,52,83 (V.A.); pls. 8,63, 79, 108, 111, 116, 128, 129(Jaipore); Tarikh; ff.4b,18a,18b,32a,48b, 186a (Patna); Tuzuk; pls. 34, 41, 52(Delhi); pls. 27, 51 (B.M.).
31.	Bhavani	:	Akb; pls. 31, 86 (V.A.); Razm; pls. 9, 16 (Baroda); Tuzuk; pls. 45,94,107 (Delhi); pls.10,110,113(B.M.).

32.	Bhavani Kalan	:	Tarikh (Patna).
33.	Bhim Gujrati	:	Tuzuk; pls. 8,31 (B.M.).
34.	Bhimjeo Gujrati	:	Tarikh; ff. 16b, 166b (Patna).
35.	Bhura	:	Akb; pls. 67,74,75 (V.A.); Razm; pls. 34, 88 (Jaipore); Tarikh; ff. 54a, 110b, 227b (Patna); Tuzuk; pls. 117, 137 (Delhi); pls. 2,106 (B.M.).
36.	Bishan Das	:	Akb; (V.A.); Tagore Collection Calcutta; (Referred in the Jahangir's Memoirs; Vol.II; pp.116, 117.)
37.	Bulaqi	:	Razm; pls. 3, 14 (Baroda).
38.	Bundi	:	Tarikh; f. 44b (Patna).
39.	Chatarbhuj	:	Razm; pls. 75, 110, 126, 127, 144 (Jaipore).
40.	Chatesh	:	Tuzuk; (B.M.).
41.	Chatur	:	Akb; pls. 21, 22, 79 (V.A.); Diwan; f. 355 (Rampur).
42.	Chaturmumi	:	Akb; pls. 63, 82, 85, 116 (V.A.); Tarikh; 122a (Patna).
43.	Chitarman	:	(See Chaturmuni).
44.	Chatter Chat(?)	:	Bodllin Library, M.S. Douce, or C.4.

45.	Chitra or Chetra	:	Razm; pls. 58, 120 (Jaipore); Tarikh; f. 129a (Patna).
46.	Dara	:	Razm; pl. 99 (Jaipore).
47.	Daswanth	:	Razm; pls. 6,9,12,14,24,32,33,43, 47,48,54,62,63,67,68,69,70,71,73, 74,88,100,108 (Jaipore).
48.	Daulat	:	Akb; ff. 52, 168, 169 (C.B.); Tuzuk; pls. 48, 77 (Delhi).
49.	Dev	:	Tarikh; (Patna).
50.	Devje Gujrati	:	Tarikh; ff. 143b, 328b (Patna).
51.	Devjeo Gujrati	:	(See Devje Gujrati).
52.	Dhanno	:	Razm; pl. 10 (Jaipore); pls. 11,22,29 (Baroda); Tarikh; ff. 53b, 97a, 178b, 269a (Patna); Tuzuk; pl. 70 (Delhi); pls. 22, 68, 75, 82 (B.M.).
53.	Dhannu	:	(See Dhanno).
54.	Danu	:	(See Dhanno).
55.	Dhanraj	:	Akb; f. 25 (C.B.); Tuzuk; pls. 30, 47, 111 (B.M.).
56.	Dharamdas	:	Akb; ff. 123, 147, 148, 226, 255 (C.B.); pls. 24,78 (V.A.); Anwar; f. 32 (Varanasi); Tarikh; 73a, 73b,

			163b (Patna); _Tuzuk_; pl. 24 (Delhi); pl. 39 (?) (B.M.).
57.	Dharam Das Nanda	:	_Tuzuk_; pl. 128 (Delhi).
58.	Durga	:	_Akb_; (V.A.), _Tuzuk_; (V.A.).
59.	Emad or Imad	:	_Tuzuk_; Bod.
60.	Farrukh	:	_Akb_; ff. 32, 33 (C.B.); pl. 81(V.A.).
61.	Farrukh Beg	:	_Akb_; pls. 96, 117 (V.A.).
62.	Farrukh _Chela_	:	_Diwan_; f. 116, 177 (Rampur); _Anwar_; f. 30 (Varansi); _Razm_; pls. 80, 137 (Jaipore); _Tarikh_; ff. 101a, 108b (Patna); _Tuzuk_; pl. 4 (B.M.).
63.	Farrukh _Qalan_	:	_Tarikh_; ff. 89b, 99a (Patna).
64.	Farrukh Khurd	:	_Darab_; (B.M.).
65.	Fatto or Fattu	:	_Tuzuk_; pl. 109 (Delhi); _Razm_; pl. 6 (Baroda).
*66.	Faqirullah.		
*67.	Fateh Chand	:	Ram.
68.	Gang (Singh?)	:	_Tarikh_; f. 140b (Patna).
69.	Goverdhan	:	_Akb_; ff. 49,176,177,201 (C.B.).
70.	Govind	:	_Tuzuk_; pls. 75,79(Delhi);pl.29(B.M.).

71.	Govind Shankar	:	I.O.L. Johan; vol. XIII.
72.	Gulam Ali	:	Razm; pl. 7 (Jaipore).
73.	Gulam Nabi	:	Razm; pls. 64, 65 (Jaipore).
74.	Gulab Rai	:	I.O.L. John; Vol. XXIV, fol. 10.
75.	Gulam Ikhlas	:	Bod. M.S. Ouseley Add. 173 fol. 18.
76.	Gyan Chand	:	I.O.L. John; Vol. XXII, fol. 5.
77.	Haider Kashmiri	:	Tarikh; f. 165b (Patna).
78.	Hajra	:	Tuzuk; p. 119 (Delhi).
79.	Hariban	:	Tarikh. (Patna); Tuzuk (B.M.); Darab (B.M.).
80.	Hazi	:	Razm; pl. 4 (Baroda).
81.	Hussain	:	Razm; pl. 24 (Baroda).
82.	Hussain Naqqash	:	Akb; pl. 113(V.A.); Tarikh. 72a (Patna); Tuzuk; pl. 69 (B.M.).
83.	Ibrahim	:	Tuzuk; pl. 94 (Delhi).
84.	Ibrahim Kahar	:	Akb; pl. 28 (V.A.); Tuzuk ; pl. 92 (Delhi); pls. 20, 101, 102 (B.M.).
85.	Ibrahim Kashmiri	:	Darab (B.M.).
86.	Ibrahim Lahori	:	Darab (B.M.).

87.	Ibrahim Naqqash	:	Tuzuk; pl. 105 (B.M.).
88.	Ikhlas	:	Darab (B.M.).
89.	Ikhlas	:	Akb; pl. 60 (V.A.).
90.	Inayat Khanazad	:	Akb; ff. 230, 268 (C.B.).
91.	Inayat Ullah	:	Rothschild Collection, Paris; Wan.
92.	Iqbal	:	Razm ; pl. 20 (Jaipore).
93.	Iqbal Naqqash	:	Tuzuk; pl. 105 (B.M.).
94.	Jagan	:	Akb; pls. 30, 34, 58, 94 (V.A.); Razm; pls. 18, 37, 38, 60, 91 (Jaipore); Tarikh; ff. 26b, 59b, 131b, 138b (Patna).
95.	Jagannath	:	Akb; pls. 10,35 (V.A.); Anwar; ff. 25, 61, 208 (Varanasi); Tarikh; f. 122a (Patna); Tuzuk; pls. 28, 55, 65 (B.M.).
96.	Jagjiwan	:	Akb; pls. 97, 111 (V.A.); Razm; pls. 25, 53, 54, 84, 95 (Jaipore); pls. 15, 32 (Baroda); Tarikh; ff. 68a, 118a, 134a, 322a (Patna).
97.	Jagjiwan Kalan	:	Tarikh; f. 2b (Patna).
98.	Jamal	:	Tuzuk; pl. 26 (Delhi).

99. Jamshed : *Razm*; pls. 27, 30 (?) (Baroda).

100. Jamshed *Chela* : *Tuzuk*; pl. 35 (B.M.).

101. Jaswant : *Razm*; pl. 78 (Jaipore).

102. Kalu Lahori : *Darab* (B.M.).

* 103. Kalyan Das : See Chatarmuni, alias Kalyan Das also Chitarman.

104. Kamal Kashmiri : Tarikh; f. 146b (Patna).

105. Kanak Singh *Chela* : *Tarikh*; (Patna); D.P.Niz.

106. Kanha : *Akb*; pls. 12, 13, 64, 97 (V.A.); *Diwan*; f. 19 (Rampur); *Razm*; 15, 29, 30, 59, 81, 98, 99, 115, 121, 122 (Jaipore).

107. Khaim : *Akb*; pl. 12 (V.A.).

108. Khaiman : *Razm*; pl. 23 (Baroda).

109. Khem : *Akb*; pl. 40 (V.A.); *Tarikh*; ff. 10b, 246b, 260b, 284a (Patna); *Tuzuk*; pl.40 (Delhi); pl. 113 (B.M.).

110. Khem Karan : *Akb*; ff. 227, 252, 256 (C.B.); *Razm*; pls. 20, 42, 66, 92, 145 (Jaipore); *Tarikh*; ff. 205b, 230a, 276a (Patna).

111. Kheman Sangtrash : Akb; pls. 12, 25 (V.A.); Tarikh; f. 58b (Patna).

112. Keshav Khurd : Tuzuk; pl. 50 (B.M.).

113. Keshav Kahar : Tuzuk; pl. 74 (Delhi).

114. Keshav Gujrati : Tuzuk; pls. 66, 103, 104 (B.M.).

115. Kesu : Akb; pls. 48, 113 (V.A.); Razm; pls. 6, 31, 101 (Jaipore); Tarikh; ff. 38a, 46b (Patna).

116. Kesu Kahar : Tarikh; ff. 104a, 132a, 149b (Patna).

117. Kesu Kalan : Tarikh; ff. 18a, 69a, 69b, 72a, 147b (Patna).

118. Kesu Khurd : Akb; pls. 40, 87 (V.A.); Tarikh; f. 193a, 253a, 323a, 337b (Patna).

119. Keshodas : Razm; pl. 58 (Jaipore).

120. Khijra Chela : Tuzuk; pl. 34 (B.M.).

121. Khusro Quli : Tuzuk; pl. 97 (B.M.).

122. Kwaja Abdus Samad : See Abdus Samad.

123. Lachman : Anwar; f. 160 (Varanasi); Tuzuk; pls. 35, 63 (Delhi).

124. Lal : Akb; pls. 27, 28, 32, 42, 43, 44, 54, 76, 92, 102, 106, 107, 108, 109(V.A.);

			ff.6, 17, 27, 59, 60, 72, 78, 79, 1942 (C.B.); <u>Anwar</u>; f. 171 (Varansi); <u>Razm</u>; pls. 4, 5, 8, 16, 23, 35, 41, 46, 51, 52, 56, 66, 75, 77, 79, 82, 83, 87, 89, 93, 109, 110, 111, 114, 116, 119, 123, 124, 125, 144 (Jaipore); <u>Tarikh</u>; ff. 22b, 23b, 44b, 60b, 63b, 65b, 66a, 97a, 284a (Patna).
125.	Lalu	:	<u>Razm</u>; pl. 16 (Jaipore).
126.	Launga	:	<u>Tuzuk</u>; pls. 113, 121 (Delhi); pl. 86 (B.M.).
*127.	Lekhraj	:	Ram.
128.	Lumanka	:	<u>Tarikh</u>; f. 331a (Patna).
129.	Madhav	:	<u>Tuzuk</u>; pl. 22 (B.M.).
130.	Madho	:	<u>Akb</u>; pl.1 (V.A.); <u>Anwar</u>; f. 201 (Varanasi); <u>Razm</u>; 17, 18, 41, 61, 73, 76, 113, 119 (Jaipore).
131.	Madho <u>Kalan</u>	:	<u>Akb</u>; pls. 14, 65 (V.A.); <u>Razm</u>; pls. 82, 103, 138 (Jaipore).
132.	Madho <u>Khurd</u>	:	<u>Razm</u>; pl. 35 (Jaipore); <u>Tarikh</u>; ff. 28a, 28b, 32a, 48b, 121a(Patna).
133.	Madhu	:	<u>Akb</u>; f. 1 (C.B.); pl. 60 (V.A.);

Tarikh; f. 205b (Patna).

134. Mahesh : Akb; pl. 40 (V.A.); Anwar; f. 55 (Varanasi); Razm; 28, 45, 67, 94, 114 (Jaipore); Tuzuk; pls. 37, 91 (Delhi); pls. 23, 24, 108 (B.M.).

135. Makra : Tuzuk; pl. 58 (B.M.).

136. Manu : Razm;pl. 106 (Jaipore).

137. Madho Gujrati : Razm; pl. 8 (Baroda).

138. Mahraj Kalan : Tarikh; (Patna).

139. Mah Muhammad : Akb; (V.A.).

140. Manohar : Tuzuk; pl 42 (B.M.).

141. Mansur naqqash or Mansur : Tuzuk; 70,71,72,73,74(B.M.).

142. Maher Chand : I.O.L. John; Vol. XI, fol.1.

143. Miskin; or Miskina, or Miskinah : Akb; pls. 23,45,52,66,67,72,74,87,88,90, 98, 100, 114 (V.A.); Anwar; ff. 48, 71, 190 (Varanasi); Razm; pls. 22, 68, 74, 124 (Jaipore); Tarikh; ff. 68a, 110b, 115a, 118a, 123b, 322a (Patna); Tuzuk; pl. 21 (Delhi).

144. Mir Hasan : Tuzuk; (B.M.).

145. Mir Hashim : Wan; Demotte Collection, Paris.

146.	Mir Muhammad	:	I.O.L. John; Vol.I Viii, fol.21.
147.	Mir Sayyid Ali	:	Ain; B.M. or 2265 fol. 157.
148.	Mir Taqi	:	Akb; ff. 297; 298 (C.B.).
149.	Mohan Shankar	:	I.O.L. John, Vols. xxxiv and iviii.
150.	Mohammad	:	Akb; pl. 97 (V.A.).
151.	Mohammad Gujrati	:	Akb; pl. 102 (V.A.).
152.	Mohammad Sharif	:	Razm; 57, 101, 104, 105 (Jaipore).
153.	Mohammad Kashmiri	:	Tarikh; ff. 177a, 252a (Patna); Tuzuk; pl. 39 (Delhi).
154.	Mohammad Abid	:	Ram.
*155.	Mohammad Murad of Samarqand	:	
156.	Mohammad Nadir of Samarqand	:	8 pictures in B.M. or 18801.
157.	Mohammad Yusuf	:	Cal. No. 554.
*158.	Muthra	:	Darab (B.M.).
159.	Mukhlis or Makhlis	:	Akb; pl. 97 (V.A.); Razm; pls. 5, 24, 61, 100 (Jaipore); Tarikh; ff. 66a, 138b (Patna); Tuzuk; pl.44(B.M.).
160.	Mukund	:	Akb; ff. 33, 105, 155, 202, 245 (C.B.); pl. 32 (V.A.); Anwar; ff. 42, 178 (Varanasi); Razm; pls. 17, 26, 27,

			32, 33, 36, 49, 50, 54, 55, 56, 80, 89, 125, 131, 132, 133, 141 (Jaipore); Tarikh; ff. 45a, 51a, 252a (Patna).
161.	Mullah Shah Muhammad	:	Tarikh; f. 5b (Patna).
162.	Muni	:	Akb; pl. 109 (V.A.).
163.	Manu	:	Tuzuk; pls. 93, 94 (B.M.); (Probably Muni).
164.	Munir	:	Tuzuk; pl. 57 (Delhi).
165.	Nana or Nama	:	Tuzuk; pls. 13, 14 (B.M.); Razm; pl. 102 (Jaipore); Tarikh; f. 459 (Patna).
*166.	Nadir Buland Iqbal	:	
167.	Nainan	:	Tarikh; (Patna).
168.	Naman	:	Akb; pls. 30,32 (V.A.); Tarikh; f. 65b (Patna).
169.	Nand son of Ramdas	:	Akb; pls. 27, 64 (V.A.).
170.	Nand Gwalari	:	Akb; pls. 58, 59 (V.A.); Anwar; f. 80 (Varanasi); Tarikh; ff. 7b, 26b, 196b, 226a, 238a (Patna); Tuzuk; pl. 49 (Delhi); pls. 6, 116 (B.M.).
171.	Nand Kumar	:	Tuzuk; pl. 31 (Delhi).

172.	Nanha :	_Tarikh_; ff. 30a, 165b (Patna).
173.	Nanwa :	_Razm_ (Jaipore).
174.	Narain :	_Razm_; pl. 114 (Jaipore); pl. 7 (Baroda); _Tarikh_; ff. 32a, 108b (Patna); _Tuzuk_; pl. 67 (B.M.).
175.	Narsing :	_Akb_; f. 263 (C.B.); pl. 110 (V.A.); _Diwan_; ff. 247, 314 (?) (Rampur).
176.	Naqi Khanazad :	_Tuzuk_; pl. 10 (Delhi).
177.	Pak :	_Razm_; pl. 13, 31 (Baroda).
178.	Paras :	_Akb_; pl. 72 (V.A.); _Razm_; pls. 11, 39, 40, 62, 87, 109, 134 (Jaipore); pl. 5 (Baroda); _Tarikh_; ff. 90a, 170b, 241b, 227b, 326b (Patna); _Tuzuk_; pls. 11, 26, 46, 53 (B.M.).
179.	Paras Kahar :	_Darab_ (B.M.).
180.	Payag :	_Tuzuk_; pls. 44, 97 (Delhi); pl. 52 (B.M.).
181.	Phiroz son of Samal :	_Razm_; pl. 25 (Baroda).
182.	Pidarath :	_Akb_; f. 19 (C.B.); _Tuzuk_; pls. 60, 81, 98, 109 (B.M.).
183.	Prem :	_Tuzuk_; pl. 43 (?), (Delhi).
184.	Premjeo Gujrati :	_Tarikh_; f. 62a (Patna).

185. Qabul : Razm; pl. 10 (Baroda).

186. Qabul Ahmad : Akb (V.A.).

187. Qasim : B.M. or 5600; see Court Painters of the Great Mughals by Binyon and Arnold; plate vii.

*188. Ram : Razm (Jaipore).

189. Ram Das : Tuzuk; pl.s. 62, 115 (B.M.); Akb; pls. 42, 94 (V.A.). Razm; pls. 9, 72, 83, 85, 86 (Jaipore); Tarikh; ff. 20a, 60b, 154b, 194b, 273b (Patna).

190. Ram Sahai : I.O.L. John; Vol. I xix.

191. Rao Govind Singh : I.O.L. John; vol. xxi, fol. 8.

192. Sahu : Tarikh; f. 128b (Patna).

193. Sahifah Banu : Wan. (Lady artist).

194. Saindas : Bod. Bah.

195. Sanvalah : Akb; ff. 71, 122 (C.B.); pls. 23, 75, 76 (V.A.); Diwan; f. 74 (Rampur); Razm; pl. 4 (Jaipore); Tarikh; f. 206b (Patna).

196. Saparjan : Razm; pl. 21 (Baroda).

197. Sarvan : Akb; pls. 1, 18, 45, 66(?), 88, 114 (V.A.); Razm; pls. 46, 49, 54, 69 (Jaipore);

		Tarikh; f. 136b (Patna); Tuzuk; pls. 8, 28 (Delhi); pls. 83, 84, 96 (B.M.).
198.	Sarju or Surju Gujrati :	Tarikh; ff. 61b, 254a (Patna).
199.	Selman :	Bod. Bah.
200.	Shankar :	Akb; ff. 10, 11, 18 (C.B.); pls. 23, 75, 76 (V.A.); Anwar; f. 144 (Varanasi); Tarikh; f. 17a (Patna); Tuzuk; pl. 32 (B.M.).
201.	Shankar Gujrati:	Tuzuk; pls. 41, 49, 78, 79, 80, 85, 99, 100 (B.M.).
202.	Shankaran :	Razm; pl. 123 (Jaipore).
203.	Shyam :	Tuzuk; pls. 25, 63, 64, 89, 90 (B.M.).
204.	Shivdas :	Tuzuk; pl. 12 (Delhi); pls. 15, 54 (B.M.).
205.	Sukhjiwan :	Razm; (Jaipore).
206.	Sur :	Tarikh; f. 126b (Patna).
207.	Surdas :	Akb; ff. 53, 54, 84, 157, 158, 162, 163, 187, 188 (C.B.); Tarikh; ff. 11b (Patna); Tuzuk; pls. 1, 2 (Delhi); Surdas was son of Amir - see f. 11b, Tarikh; Patna.
208.	Surjan :	Razm; pl. 23 (Jaipore); Tarikh; ff. 8b, 9a, 28a, 28b, 46b, 49a, 59b, 63b, 101a,

(Patna); Tuzuk; pls. 5, 59, 87, 88 (B.M.).

209. Suraij : Tarikh; f. 99a (Patna).

210. Suraj Gujrati : Tarikh; ff. 89b, 121a (Patna).

211. Sur Gujrati : Tuzuk; pl. 45 (B.M.).

212. Surya Gujrati : Tuzuk; pls. 76, 77 (B.M.).

213. Tara or Tarachand: (See V. Smith's Akbar; p. 118); Razm; pls. 43, 44, 71, 78, 85, 86, 118(Jaipore); Tarikh; f. 6b (Patna).

214. Tara Kalan : Akb; pls. 18, 61 (V.A.).

215. Tirpal or Thirpal: Razm; pls. 135, 143 (Jaipore); Tuzuk; pl. 3, 38 (B.M.).

216. Tirya or Tarrya: Akb; pl. 6 (V.A.); Tarikh; f. 78a (Patna); Tuzuk; pls. 17, 36, 40 (B.M.).

217. Tilok : Tuzuk; pl. 18 (B.M.).

218. Taluk : Darab (B.M.).

219. Tulsi : Akb; pls. 6, 31, 86 (V.A.); Razm; pls. 3, 11, 13, 43, 47, 48, 90, 93, 112, 118, 142 (Jaipore); Tuzuk; pl. 123 (Delhi); pl. 17 (B.M.).

220. Tulsi Khurd : Tuzuk; pls. 91, 92 (B.M.).

221. Tulsi Kalan : Akb; pls. 47, 103, 104 (V.A.); Razm; pl. 146 (Jaipore); Tarikh; ff. 3b, 14a,

20a, 20b, 21a, 32a, 136b, 202a (Patna);

Tuzuk; pl. 112 (B.M.).

222. Yakub Kashmiri : Tuzuk (V.A.).

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* Indian Paintings Under the Mughals; pp. 195-198.

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Bankipur Oriental Public Library; Patna

Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi

Bombay, Prince of Wales Museum.

Calcutta, Indian Museum, Art Section.

Calcutta Victoria Memorial Collection.

Chamba, Punjab, Bhuri Singh Museum.

Delhi, Archaeological Museum, Fort.

National Museum Delhi.

Jaipur, State Library.

Lahore, Central Museum.

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Madras, School of Arts.

Rampur, State Library.

Srinagar, Kashmir, State Museum.

Private Collections :

Avet, M. Claude, Paris.

Aubry, M. Heuri, Paris.

B'earn, Mme la comtesse de, Paris.

Benares, H.H. the Maharaja of, Benares.

Beinard, M.Albert, rule Guillaume Tell, Paris.

Burdwan, H.H.the Maharaja of, Calcutta.

Cartier, M. Louis, Paris.

Churchill, Captain Spenar, Blockley, Worcestershire, England.

Demotte, M., 27 rue de Berri, Paris.

Denison-Russ, Sir Edward Kt., C.I.E., School of Oriental Studies, London.

French, Mr. J.C. Indian Civil Service, Bengal, India.

Goloubew, M. Victor, Paris.

Hydari, M.G.M., Hyderabad.

Hyederabad, H.H. Nizam of.

Koechlin, M.R., Paris.

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Marteau, M. Georges, Paris.

Martin, Dr. F.R., Bellosquardo Louvre, Paris.

Morgan, Mr. J.Pierpont, Madison Avenue, New York, U.S.A.

Nahar, Mr. Manilal, Indian Mirror Street, Calcutta.

Nawab Salar Jung, Hyderabad, Deccan.

Parasnis, Rao Bahadur D.B., Satara, Bombay Presidency, India.

Perrins, Mr. Dyson, Malvern, England.

Read, Sir Hercules, British Museum,London.

Rosenberg, M.Leonce.

Rotheustein, Mr. W., Royal College of Art,
South Kesington, London.

Rothscbild, Baron Maurice, Paris.

Rowe, Mrs. Jopling, London.

Schulz, Dr. Leipzig.

Schwaiger, Mr. 1., Great Brook Street, London.

Stoclet, M., Brussels.

Tagore, Mr. Gwgendra Nath, Dwarka Nath
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6. Razmnama : City Palace Museum Jaipore. Illustrated with 169 miniatures. 147 miniatures published in the Memorial Of the Jaipore Exhibition 1883 by T.H.Hindley; Vol. IV.

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